

THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Eighth Year of Issue

October, 1948



The New Minister

The appointment of Mike Pearson to be Minister of External Affairs shows that right up to the last moment Mr. King has been taking characteristically long views on behalf of the future of his party. When a political party has been dominated by one man for a generation, its usual fate on his retirement is to disintegrate. Mr. King has tried to insure against this by bringing forward new men—Mr. St. Laurent as leader and Messrs. Abbott, Claxton and Martin as lieutenants—and now he has added Mr. Pearson. This leaves the Liberal party with an equipment of trained intelligence in its parliamentary leadership which is certainly better than that of any of its rivals. Its weakness is that none of these men has much experience or has shown much interest in the twin democratic arts of appealing directly to the people and of manipulating party followers—except Mr. Martin, who has shown rather too much interest for his own good reputation.

Everyone has remarked quite truly what a fine fellow Mike Pearson is and what gifts he has for getting on with people. It should also be remarked that he comes into politics after more than twenty years as a university professor and a civil servant. This long discipline in the habit of assembling and analysing all the relevant facts before you make up your mind, and of trusting to the assistance of trained intellectuals, should make him, like his chief Mr. St. Laurent, a rather unusual politician at Ottawa. In recent years what has given Mr. Coldwell and his chief lieutenants their outstanding position in the House and in the country has been just this fact, that they are in the habit of studying



LESTER B. PEARSON.

questions seriously and of using the assistance of university-trained experts, before they get up and make speeches.

So far as his liberalism goes, we should have thought that Mr. Pearson is one of those men not primarily much interested in ideas but very much interested in good government, more given to carrying on with the material at hand than to letting his mind play with schemes of reconstruction, in short, a Whig rather than a Liberal or a Radical. Perhaps Canada, like the rest of the world, will become rather sick of idealogies in the next ten or twenty years and will welcome leaders who can bring moderate and reasonable men together.

Mr. Pearson's liberalism will be subjected to one immediate test. He has probably had more than anyone else to do with committing the Canadian government and people to the policy of an Atlantic Union of the "democratic" states for mutual protection and help. So far the exponents of this policy in the Department of External Affairs have shown much more interest in its technical, military and economic aspects than in the broad democratic base which must underlie it. This is to be a union of democracies, and they need to be a little franker with us about what they understand the word "democracy" to mean. A policy which means buttressing up all the reactionary elements in western Europe, restoring multilateral international trade under the domination of American-German big business, and all that sort of thing, which is by no means an unlikely result of Atlantic Union under certain kinds of leadership, will not make for anything that Canadians can understand as democracy, whatever else it may accomplish. A child-like innocence about some of these material facts of life may have to be assumed by permanent officials when they speak in public. It will not be permitted to a responsible politician appealing for public support as a Liberal.

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor: To adequately reply to Mr. Charles Whittier's attack on my article, "Struggle in Palestine," would require much more space than either of us have taken in the *Forum*. I shall therefore limit myself to discussing in brief a few of Mr. Whittier's points.

The basic fact about Palestine in 1948 is that two peoples, widely different in religion, culture and language, inhabit one country and can not agree on a common government. This was and is the problem, ignoring all questions of who promised what, and how each of the peoples reached the country. The Christian Arabs of Lebanon, who are less differentiated than the Jews from the Moslem Arabs, insisted on and received political independence from Moslem Arab Syria, even though Lebanon contains a much higher percentage of Moslems than does Israel. It still seems to me that a partition which gives one third of the population, the Jews, one eighth of the original Palestine mandate, and the Arab two-thirds, seven-eighths of the territory, is more than fair to the Arab majority. (The original mandate which was promised in the Balfour Declaration as a "Jewish National Home" included Trans-Jordan).

Mr. Whittier dismisses my suggestion that the Israeli are fighting for survival and for a haven for European Jewry

as "nonsense" and an attempt to gain humanitarian support for Zionism. I would be happy to withdraw my arguments when Mr. Whittier will let me know where else but Israel can the European Jews go, and when he will show me that the Arab states have repudiated and taken action to eliminate the power of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. The Mufti, who remains the unrepudiated leader of the Arab Higher Committee, was as responsible as any man in Germany for the murder of 6,000,000 Jews. Captured Nazi records reveal that the Mufti repeatedly put pressure on the Nazi leaders to send the Jews to gas chambers in Poland rather than let them emigrate. To expect the surviving relatives and friends of the murdered six million to live in the Mufti's state and feel secure is just a little too much.

In my article I condemned both Arab Fascism and Jewish terrorism. In comparing the Arabs and Israeli, however, one must recognize a great difference between the two evil forces on both sides. Arab Fascists and former Nazi collaborators are still official leaders of the Arab League and the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine. The official representative of the Arab Higher Committee at the U.N. was interned by the British during the war as a Nazi collaborator. The Jewish terrorists, on the other hand, are a repudiated dissident group in Israel. A number of their leaders have been arrested by the government of Israel. The army of the Irgun was forced to disband under the threat of military action by the Haganah. Supporters of Irgun and the Stern Gang in America have been denounced as "traitors" to Zionism by leaders of the Zionist movement. The terrorists, in turn, violently attack the socialist leaders of the Israel government as cowards and enemies of Jewish nationalism.

Mr. Whittier rightly cites Azzam Pasha as an example of an Arab leader who has not been involved in the reactionary machinations of the pro-German Arab leaders. I should like

(Continued on page 160)

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J. S. WOODSWORTH LETTERS

for biographical purposes. Will anyone in possession of letters written by the late J. S. Woodsworth communicate with The Canadian Forum, Box 2.

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Straws in the Wind

There was a time in Canada when an opposition party had to wait for a turn in office. Sometimes it was a long wait, but, in the good old days of the "ins" and the "outs," sooner or later economic conditions changed or the public grew tired of the party in power, and the alternative party came to bat. But the problem of an opposition party has changed. This is an era in Canadian politics of many parties. No party out of office can be sure that it will go in when the "ins" go out. It has rivals for office. More discouraging still to the "outs," the party in power seems able to withstand the blows of two or more opposition parties more easily than the blows of one opposition party. If there is no system of proportional representation or alternative voting, the opposition parties divide the opposition strength. If, as at Ottawa at the present time, the "ins" are the middle-of-the-road party, simultaneous body blows on both sides seem to leave the government sitting pretty firmly in the saddle. When the present Liberal government survived the war it did what no government is supposed to do.

Federally in Canada today it would seem that an opposition party should be trying to push itself far enough over into the middle ground, now preempted by the government party, to command the support of a majority, or a plurality, of voters. While the CCF, on the government's left, does not seem to be crowding in on the government at the moment, it is quite possible that this party's strategists are looking ahead another five or ten years, and are now staking out ground that they think will then command majority or plurality support. But what is to be said of the party on the government's right, whose leaders are saying "now or never?" The Conservative party's policy, as it seems likely to emerge from the national convention, is away from the middle ground to the rugged stamping-ground of "free enterprise" and individualism. Less power for the dominion parliament, less government planning, abandonment of anti-depression taxation policies, even though combined with splendid statements about civil rights and the freedom of the individual, and the development of natural resources, do not seem likely to appeal to the average citizen as calculated to lift or maintain his standard of living in the times ahead. The Conservatives seem to have moved in the wrong direction, perhaps because their policy originated not in "Bracken club" study groups but with the economic experts and wishful thinkers of industry and finance.

Whistling in the Dark

The assassination of Count Bernadotte, coming on the eve of the reconvening of the UN General Assembly, throws into relief the question of that body's usefulness. The public, horrified and indignant, is becoming inured to such outrages; it braces itself for further torrents of propaganda. Count Bernadotte's death, like that of Masaryk, is a concrete event, falling like a bomb into the unreal atmosphere of UN negotiations.

Founded on a pretence of unanimity, the UN has suffered from two fallacies: that an elaborate organizational machine will automatically produce desired results, and that paper work is real. These two beliefs are prolific of committees,

research, reports; a staggering mound of documentation has accumulated, including the Secretary General's recent report. The old League of course had the same defect, and like UN it was devoted to the creation of world opinion. With these differences: the possibilities of using such an organization as a megaphone for propaganda were not fully realized, and the agitated proceedings of the League were decorous in the extreme when compared with the violent dissensions and tirades of the new "peace" machine.

In spite of Mr. Lie's defence of the organization's work, the facts are plain: UN cannot operate when a great power's prestige is affected; it has feebly intervened in Kashmir, Indonesia, and Palestine, where its success has been very limited at best; its findings in the Greek war have been repeatedly ignored; it was ineffectual in Azerbaijan. In its subsidiary organizations, all real progress is frustrated by the obstructionist tactics of the U.S.S.R.—in fact it has only been able to operate at all in those bodies like UNESCO which Russia refuses to join. Or, to be just, it functions in matters of relief, where an independent body could have done equally well. Our hope lies in the coalescence of really "united" nations, that is, in a union of states whose aims, though conflicting, are not incompatible, of nations whose avowed aim is not to exterminate rivals.

France, Russia, and the Third Force

The long expected political crisis in France arrived at a most embarrassing moment—when apparent western unity had beaten down Russian stubbornness in Berlin.

The sudden switch in Russian policy in early September, from an apparent willingness to come to terms to a sudden revival of intransigence, can perhaps be traced to the weakness in western strength revealed by the crisis in France. But that this crisis should assume such importance points to the fundamental trends in European politics that underlie the impasse in Berlin.

Russia's policy of stalling together with recent developments in Moscow are evidence of a state of hesitation in the Kremlin, of an anxious waiting for signs of the success or non-success of the Marshall Plan. Having failed to stop the plan, surely Russian policy must hinge on western European reaction to the American aid program.

Thus if ERP leads to stability in the west and ends the revolutionary situation there, and if, as a result, the Kremlin should recognize an element of wisdom in Varga's theory of the postponed crisis, then it may well be that Russian policy will become less aggressive. But the refusal of the French working class to accept the Reynaud plan, to accept, that is, those conditions which laissez-faire theory felt to be necessary for French participation in ERP, thus endangering ERP in the one country where stability and unity is most necessary, convinced the Russians that it was safe to play with fire for a while longer.

The French crisis, then, created greater perils in Berlin. Who is to blame? Many commentators shake their heads and point to the impossible French. Others bitterly accuse the Socialists.

It was indeed the Socialist refusal to agree on military appropriations which ended the miraculously persistent

Schuman government; their defection from the Reynaud plan which accentuated the crisis. How long the present Queuille regime will last is difficult to say, but labor opposition, if it continues, does not prophesy a long or healthy life.

Since France gave up her policy of Russian-American mediation she has been moving steadily to the right. The result has been continuing discontent among the working class and the gradual alienation of the Socialists from the labor movement. If the trend continues it will lead inevitably to de Gaulle. For as worker resentment becomes increasingly active so will the middle classes and the peasants turn to de Gaulle and give him the power he demands in return for security from revolution. Thus the Socialists withdrew their support not only because its continuance meant a drastic compromise with their principles, but also because they hoped to re-establish their alliance with the labor movement. It may yet appear that the recent actions of the French Socialists were consistent with preservation of democracy in France.

German Riddle

After another month the insoluble crisis of Berlin continues as before. The obviously Russian-inspired outbursts of communist mob violence make it seem highly unlikely that the Soviet authorities want any agreement except the complete capitulation of the Western powers. If, to secure release from the blockade, concessions are made to them now on the subject of currency, they remain free to create another crisis any time this winter when the allied air-lift cannot be so successful as in recent days of warmth and sunshine. Yet one favorable fact has emerged in the past month. The masses of Berlin are overwhelmingly on the anti-communist side, in spite of the vulnerability of their position.

There seems nothing for the Western powers to do but to hold on grimly in Berlin, and in the meantime to make a success of their responsibilities in western Germany and western Europe. But in this area, where they should be compensating by vigorous action for their Berlin weakness, they are frittering away precious months in dissension. France drifts steadily towards a domestic crisis which will be unpleasantly like civil war. In Britain, the Labor government has let itself get manoeuvred into a position in which its critics can accuse it with some plausibility of sabotaging western Union. And the third, the United States, has intervened in the European recovery program to insist that Bizonia get a larger slice of ERP funds than her neighbors wanted to assign to her. The other western European powers suspect that the State Department intends to build up western Germany at their expense, and the prospect of a Republican government in Washington by the end of next January increases their suspicions. Increasing chaos in Washington until the new President is installed probably means increasing uncertainty in western Europe. In the next three or four months the Russians must calculate that they have everything to gain by accentuating the crisis.

Pot and Kettle

The occupation of Hyderabad by Indian government forces marks the climax of the pressure exerted on that princely state during the past few months. It would be misleading to regard the event as an isolated incident. For it is the Kashmir affair in reverse. Kashmir has a Moslem majority and is ruled by a Hindu prince; Hyderabad has a Hindu majority and is ruled by a Moslem prince. It was

not surprising, therefore, that Pakistan should have assisted the Azad rebels against the Maharajah of Kashmir, or that the Maharajah, in view of Kashmir's convenient border position, should have decided to adhere to India. But Hyderabad, ruled by a Nizam of extraordinary wealth and frugality, has no such convenient geographical position; it is in fact a land island. Consequently India was able, under the pretext of preventing the import of arms into Hyderabad, to strangle the economic life of Hyderabad by blockade, and did so. The constant assertion that the Nizam was virtually a prisoner of Kasim Razvi and his fanatical Moslems was only a colorful way of saying that in Hyderabad (as in all princely states) government is conducted by patronage. In actual fact, Hyderabad was not, relatively speaking, maladministered; there were Razakar raids, but the blockade *did* after all exist. The plain truth is that India needed Hyderabad, for economic and political reasons.

The incident, now temporarily closed by the Nizam's surrender, after an extremely brief and feeble resistance, proves that the Indian assertion that Hyderabad was a military threat was exaggerated. Nor was the Nizam so dominated by the Razakars that he could not negotiate a peace. The affair illustrates how quickly nationalism develops in our period. Within a year, Nehru was able to threaten, in a manner very unlike Gandhi, "if the Nizam refuses, we march." Any moral advantage in world opinion that India may have had over Pakistan in the Kashmir affair has been largely lost by the tactics employed in eliminating Hyderabad's independence.

Border Line Case

The recent action by the United States immigration authorities in stopping Canadian union delegates at the border is symptomatic of the hysteria currently raging on this continent. Similarly, the Canadian authorities have tried to prevent the entry into this country of members of the Communist party.

It is regrettable, at a time when the world is divided between the followers of totalitarianism and liberal democracy, that the champions of the latter should use methods commonly employed by the former. In a letter to President Truman from its San Francisco convention the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers said that the barring of delegates "follows the pattern of the dreaded police state."

John T. Boyd, deputy commissioner of immigration in Washington, stated that the data on Canadian Union members came from Canadian sources. It appears that either public or private agencies in Canada are supplying the United States immigration authorities with lists of union members who are not to be admitted into the United States. This undercover investigation of the union leaders is hardly compatible with the tenets of a free liberal state. The attempted exclusion from the United States of Mr. Dowling shows how inaccurate and dangerous such investigations can be.

Under an Act signed by the President in October, 1918, visitors to the United States can be forbidden entry if they are members of "excludable classes." Vague terminology like this can cover a multitude of sins and reminds one strongly of the epithet "enemy of the people's democracy," used with great effect in Eastern Europe.

It is improbable that the action of the United States officials was taken intentionally to restrict the effectiveness of unions. In the past six months not only union delegates

but also a well-known English clergyman, and a Greek schoolboy, studying in Canada, were refused entry to the United States. Interference with the free communication between labor delegates could, however, seriously hamper the activities of international unions and their further development.

The series of incidents reveals how widespread is the frame of mind exemplified by the Thomas Committee. This attitude is not worthy of a democracy of the stature of the United States and merely serves to weaken the case against communism.

CCF Convention

Canada's political parties have had a busy summer, holding conventions, constructing platforms, and selecting party leaders in preparation for a Federal election. The convention of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was held in August in Winnipeg, and the usual flow of newspaper criticism followed. The important thing about the CCF convention was not the passing of a first term program as such, for as everyone knows the program of any political party will be determined by the conditions under which it takes office. What is important is creating the habit in the Canadian people of careful discussion of public problems with a view to reaching an equitable and sensible solution within the framework of democratic methods. The great weakness of Canadian democracy, is that Canadians as a whole (aside from active party members) see little or no relationship between party programs and their condition of life, and in all fairness it must be stated that in the past under a game of in and out played by the two old parties there has been much to justify this state of mind on the part of the Canadian public. The development of political consciousness in the Canadian people is the real task of the CCF and they are making headway with it.

Much of the criticism of the press has been directed against the convention's decision to nationalize the banks in spite of the recommendations of the national executive. The arguments pro and con have been combed thoroughly and we will be due for more of it on a really low level as election party propaganda gets rolling. The essential power

of the CCF lies in the belief of the rank-and-filer that he controls his organization and that his voice can be heard and listened to at all levels. If the idea can be made to catch on with the average Canadian voter, both old parties will recognize it for the political dynamite it is.

Canada's "National" Exhibition

Toronto the Good is exciting itself just now in a characteristic local controversy as to whether the Olsen and Johnson show in front of the grand-stand at the recent Canadian National Exhibition was (1) moral or immoral, and (2) financially profitable or not. (In Toronto these two questions usually get mixed up). In the newspaper discussion, McAree, in his Fourth Column is, as usual, the only participant who so far has even hinted at what ought to be the real cause of worry. This is the fact that for the past twenty years the Exhibition has been steadily degenerating into a crowded collection of cheap side-shows—the official word is "concessions"—for fleecing the suckers.

As he pointed out, persistent ballyhoo in the papers brings increasing crowds every year, without any new facilities in transportation or in the size of the grounds or in the amenities provided for the comfort of visitors. He might have added that there are few exhibits of manufactured goods, which the tired and hot and dirty visitors couldn't inspect in much greater comfort at any time of the year in Toronto's downtown stores and display rooms; and that the restaurants which serve sloppy and unappetizing meals, and the sanitary conveniences which must mostly have been excavated from the slum areas of Pompeii, are a disgrace to a great city. In spite of the examples of recent world fairs in New York and Chicago, the management of the Toronto show seem to have learnt nothing of what can be done in architecture and in the arrangement of buildings, in lighting and in pageantry, to make a fair attractive and notable. In fact one would judge that they must go for new ideas solely to the Ontario fall fairs.

This year, it should be said in fairness, the Art Gallery did stand out from the mass of cheap commonplace exhibits; and the crafts exhibit in the Women's Building deserves favorable mention. The Art Gallery had an historical exhibition of Canadian art which, if not very distinguished, was a welcome change from the atrocious masses of trash that have been foisted on the public in that building for the past dozen Exhibitions or so. But there was no guidance in the catalogue or in explanatory notes on the walls to help the visitor understand the significance of the various paintings. Hasn't anyone in CNE art circles ever gone through the Museum of Modern Art in New York and seen how an art show can be made both dramatic and instructive?

Well, there is one comforting thought. After Olsen and Johnson the Canadian National Exhibition can't sink any lower. Whatever changes are made in future years are bound to be improvements. And if some low comedy has to be provided in order to fill the big new grand-stand, why not stage regular sessions of the Toronto City Council and of the Board of Education on alternate evenings?



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THE CANADIAN FORUM

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Thumbprint

A conspicuous death at an opportune moment in Russia always causes lifted eyebrows. But let us not speculate uncharitably about Zhdanov; five surgeons attested that his death was normal, Molotov delivered the funeral oration, and it was announced in Moscow that Zhdanov's death was as great a blow to the party as that of Kirov. The cryptic significance of all this, especially the parallel with Kirov, will not be lost on those who remember 1935.

Twenty-Five Years Ago

Vol. 4, No. 37, October, 1923, *The Canadian Forum*.

A political correspondent writes: For Canada, the Imperial Conference has been fated to open in an atmosphere of complete mystification about its objects and possibilities, and to date the oratorical artistry of the Prime Minister has done nothing to lift the veil. He will live to regret his failure to stimulate currents of public discussion by informative speeches on the major problems, before he fared forth for London, and to secure thereby some guide-posts for his course of policy. There has been the usual dose of sentimental inanities, and the Marquess Curzon has imparted the darkest secrets of the Foreign Office to the visitors. But pending the arrival of Mr. Bruce, of Australia, serious discussion of the vital issues has been impossible, and comment therefore is premature. However, the eyes of his countrymen are fixedly upon Mr. King, who is now performing on a wider stage than he has hitherto adorned. He sailed 'across the faem,' as the old balladists say, armed with at least ten carefully prepared orations and attended by a train such as none of his predecessors ever mustered. What with secretaries — political, economic, and social — naval and military experts, commercial advisers, publicity agents, and that prince of travellers Mr. Duncan Marshall, the roster of his male entourage now exceeds a dozen. To each of these will assuredly be allotted some feminine acolyte, and I hear that there is also foregathering by invitation around our Premier a sort of unofficial court of unpaid attaches and their consorts.

Floods: A Canadian Problem

John C. W. Irwin

► THE RECENT VIOLENT and very destructive floods in British Columbia and the Western United States have focused attention once again on this problem of controlling nature on the rampage, or else preventing the rampage from starting. From the prairies also, this year in particular has brought stories of flood devastation, and practically every year in southern Ontario towns and villages and some cities report recurring flood damage amounting in the aggregate to very large sums.

The cause of floods may be considered simple; the remedies often far from simple. It is certain, however, that unless greater attention is paid to the problem, and considerable expenditures undertaken, the damage will continue to increase, and some of it will be difficult if not impossible to repair, regardless of expenditure.

We may consider the problem generally under four heads: (1) What is a flood? (2) What are the causes, primary and secondary? (3) The damage (4) Remedies.

(1) *What is a flood?* What we understand by a flood in a watercourse is an abnormal volume of water, taxing the ability of the banks, natural or artificial, to contain it, and frequently overflowing the banks. Floods may be considered as of two kinds: (a) periodic (and expected) as in the spring when the snow is melting, and (b) occasional (and to some extent unexpected) as those due to heavy rain or continuing high temperatures during the spring break-up.

(2) *Causes of floods.* The apparent and obvious causes of floods have already been indicated. It is not so well-known, however, that the soil carried by rivers in flood adds greatly to the volume the river banks must contain. This soil in suspension is frequently responsible for the last foot, or the last few inches (the crest of the flood) that cause the overflow and do the most damage. Some of this soil is also deposited in the watercourse, raising the bottom, and limiting its water-containing capacity.

(3) *The Damage done.* It is not necessary to recount the vast extent of damage done by floods to all kinds of man's improvements and amenities of civilization: dwellings and furniture, farm buildings, commercial buildings and warehouses and their contents, bridges, roads, railroads, and telephone and telegraph communication systems. It would be reasonable to say that in one year in Ontario this damage far exceeds all that has ever been spent to overcome or even noticeably to reduce it.

Less apparent to the general public is the very large waste due to the erosion of soil, referred to above, and its removal to locations known and unknown down stream. In a large river system such as the Mississippi the volume of soil deposited at its mouth and carried into the Gulf of Mexico is estimated in an astronomical number of tons; estimates for relatively small Ontario rivers such as the Thames, the Grand or the Humber, based on measuring the amount of soil in suspension during flooding, are also staggering to the imagination.

Erosion in rivers, of course, is an expected geographic phenomenon and occurs and has occurred over countless years where man's interference with nature was absent or of no importance. The contribution that man's cultivation of the soil, and his removal of the soil's protective herbaceous and tree cover, makes to the problem is that quantities, enormous in the aggregate, of some of the best topsoil are carried from the fields by the action of tiny trickles of water, during and following any sizable downpour. These, merging, form larger streamlets with greater digging and carrying power, and the total topsoil removed in this way in a heavy rain can aggregate many tons per acre. The economic loss of this soil, to say nothing of the loss of its nutritive value, which cannot be fully replaced by chemical fertilizers, has not yet been generally recognized in Canada. Some of this valuable top soil may be deposited as a beneficial addition to the soil in the river valley further down, in the best tradition of the Nile, about which we have heard from childhood. Most is entirely wasted, if the conditions for such deposition are not favorable.

The removal of the soil's protective cover also results in the water erosion of much agriculturally valueless sub-soil, and this with eroded material from the river banks, may be deposited in a thick layer of gravelly rubble on farms downstream, to cause tremendous damage, and frequently render previously fertile fields almost useless. Their recovery can only be accomplished at great expense.

Such water-borne eroded material also may gradually fill up and render useless storage and power dams erected at very great cost. There are many instances of this in the United States, and I saw an example of it not long ago near Newcastle, Ontario, where a dam on a creek was filled to

the top (14 feet) with silt. Many conservationists, and even some engineers, who until recently have thought of water control only in terms of dams and levees, are apprehensive that some of the most spectacular dams built in the western United States within the last 20 years will suffer the same fate in the measurable future. In addition, as will be discussed later, man's clearing and cultivation of the soil (and forest fires) tend to increase greatly the amount of water running off into the streams in relation to that absorbed into the ground.

Space limitation will not permit discussion of the pollution of the habitat of fish and the interference with their spawning beds by covering with silt, and the abnormal raising and subsequent lowering of levels.

An additional important aspect of the rapid removal of great quantities of water, particularly in the spring, is the consequent lack of water in the summer. Professor Coventry of the University of Toronto has recorded in his paper "The Desiccation of Southern Ontario" that some eighty per cent of once "year round" streams, flowing into Lake Ontario between Toronto and Hamilton, now almost completely dry up during part of the summer. The number of farmer's wells that are no longer dependable is also on the increase, and poses a real problem, especially on dairy farms. There is another serious problem involved in the drying up of river courses in the summer, namely that of the disposal of sanitary and industrial sewage. This was particularly acute on the Grand River in Ontario. Finally, low summer flow limits the electric power potential of any stream, and steps that can be taken to increase it will improve the economic value of the stream from this point of view. The acute power shortage in Ontario at the time of writing, although perhaps largely due to an abnormally long period without rain, emphasizes the importance to dwellers of country and city alike of curbing spring run-off to prolong summer flow.

Remedies.

From the foregoing it is apparent that remedies must be of two kinds, since the distribution of precipitation in place and time is still not subject to human control. First, efforts must be directed to increasing the absorption of water into the soil and decreasing the run-off; in addition the speed of run-off must be reduced to keep erosion at a minimum. Secondly, and in conjunction with the first, engineering structures small and large must be built to control the water reaching the water courses.

A brief explanation of what happens when rain falls on even gently sloping soil will be useful here, since it has an important bearing on the steps taken to control or minimize the damage done by flooding. Some of the moisture will doubtless evaporate, some will be absorbed into the ground, and the rest will trickle or flow down the slope to rivulet or ditch, and finally to creek and river. The volume and speed of this run-off determines the amount of soil eroded. (The digging and carrying capacity of water in motion increases with its speed, in geometric progression). The percentage of precipitation absorbed into the soil depends on the type of soil and the amount of protective covering in the form of grass or other herbaceous growth, and tree cover with its accompanying ground litter. If the soil is exposed, the first drops of rain mingle with the free dust to form a film which covers all the tiny crevices into which water might be absorbed, with the result that a large part runs off. If grass or other close-growing crop (forest litter) covers the soil, numerous apertures are kept open, and a considerable percentage is absorbed into the ground to supply needed water for plant growth, replenish wells and maintain summer flow in streams and rivers.

To increase the absorption of water into the soil where it falls, thus reducing the run-off and consequent erosion (the first kind of remedy), the growing of hay, alfalfa, oats or other close-growing crops on slopes up to medium, trees on steeper slopes, contour ploughing and strip cropping where sloping land must be used for hoe crops, the avoidance of over-pasturing with consequent cutting of the sod, all will contribute to the desired result. On denuded areas unfit for agriculture or pasture, forest trees should be planted.

Efforts to keep the soil in the fields and absorb moisture where it falls should be supplemented by numerous check or storage dams in even small ditches and gullies, to retard the run-off, and by the maintenance of such natural reservoirs as existent marshes and swamps. Large storage dams, not multiple purpose dams, are important control agencies, if emptied in anticipation of flooding, based on studies on the watershed.

The reduction of abnormal erosion along river banks can be accomplished by engineering activities such as the building of glances and the straightening of the channel.

It must be kept in mind, however, that security from river flood damage can only be completely assured by leaving the natural flood channel to the river.

If, however, the gain to be derived from the occupation of a river valley is great, then the undertaking of agricultural improvements on the watershed above and the construction of engineering works based on a study of the river's behaviour over a period of years, will give relative assurance. The costs involved are often very great, and it is a nice question to determine in cases of this kind and under irrigation schemes, to what expense the province or dominion is warranted in going to improve the earning capacity of the lands of a limited number of citizens. There is also the problem of interfering with the rights of others — for example, to give the best possible protection to people on the lower river may involve the erection of a dam that will flood extensive lands above. It is a difficult problem, and in the case of British Columbia, additionally involved by the international meanderings of some of the rivers.

I have not had an opportunity of visiting British Columbia since the recent floods, but a forest engineer resident who lives in a flooded area has given me information on which the following is based:

The floods arose from the following chain of circumstances:

- (1) An exceptionally heavy snowfall at all levels throughout the winter more particularly at the lowest levels. (2) Cold and cloudy weather persisting throughout the month of April with little run-off even from the lowest levels. Snow persisted at this level until May 1st in shaded locations. (3) Excessively warm weather in May with cloudless skies all over the interior of the province. This hot weather commenced May 14th, and continued without a single break until June 14th. During this period temperatures all over the interior were in the high 80's and 90's, or almost 20 degrees above average. This hot weather brought a flood of water not exceeded since 1894.

It is noteworthy that all major drainage systems of the province were affected, regardless of power dams, or lake storage. The main interior lakes, Okanagan, Kootenay, Stuart, Arrow, Francois and Ootsa, reached a peak high level, and industries and homesites along the shores were flooded by the rising waters, as were the flood plains of the rivers, although to a lesser degree.

My informant, although very much aware of the value of tree growth in controlling run-off, is not of the opinion that

the deluge produced by such abnormal climatic conditions would have been mitigated appreciably even had it been more dense and widespread. The flood of 1894, which mounted two feet higher, took place in the quite early days of lumbering and before forest fires had taken much toll of British Columbia forests. The extent of the accumulated precipitation that year is not available to me, so that any further comparison would be of no value.

Had the dykes which were built to a height two feet above the 1894 crest been well maintained it is probable that considerable loss might have been avoided, but erosion, muskrats and old age had taken their toll, and they did not stand up to the 1948 flood, the first real test since 1894.

More storage dams will undoubtedly assist on rivers which have suitable sites, but this is a difficult problem, complicated as already mentioned by the international interest in several rivers.

If the great loss suffered in British Columbia serves to awaken the people of Canada and their leaders at last to the urgent need for greater care in exploiting nature and a realization that lack of planning, not to say carelessness and greed, have brought most of our renewable natural resources to a new low, it will have served a useful purpose. Certainly there have been in recent times enough warnings of impending doom.

The Textile Industry

Anna Childers

► THE HISTORY of the textile industry has been a succession of inherited evils which has earned for it the title "the sick industry." The depressed state of poorly paid workers under intolerable conditions naturally reflects upon the nation's economy. A report published by the Textile Workers Union of America CCL-CIO shows that conditions have vastly improved. Basing figures on U.S. Governmental Agency statistics, the report reveals that the textile mills products industry is now the most profitable manufacturing industry in the United States, in contrast to its pre-war position near the bottom of the scale. While it is true that profits climbed well out of proportion to labor's share, it is also true that all groups in the textile industry have shared in the rise in income resulting from increased sales as the following figures from the TWUA report indicate: "The total wage bill increased 157 per cent from 1939 to 1947 while profits soared 986 per cent. Manhour profits rose 1,112 per cent, while manhour wages rose 124 per cent."

For one hundred and fifty years wages throughout the textile industry were so low that whole families, including children, had to work to eke out a bare living. Workers in every mill town were forced by poverty to live in dilapidated company-owned shacks, and to trade in the company-owned stores. To complete the domination by the mill owners, they attended the company church, sent their children to the company school, buried their relatives in the company cemetery, and those who could read had their opinions formed by a company-dominated press.

Although there is still a tremendous job to be done for textile workers in Canada and the United States, the labor movement has kindled a new spark in the lives of textile workers whether organized or unorganized. In order to maintain a working force companies are forced to grant unorganized employees some of the benefits and wage increases won by the union where contracts are in effect. True, textile unions in the past gave new hope to a desperate

people, but the spark which TWUA created in 1939 at the Philadelphia convention of textile workers has been the only light that has not failed, and has apparently come to stay. As soon as a union is entrenched in a mill this "spark" may be seen by those who are in contact with the employees. They are more willing to co-operate with management at all levels. Such a change of attitude is not hard to explain. For the first time in their lives they are not afraid to look the boss squarely in the eye as he passes; for the first time in their lives they know that they have a voice in the terms under which they shall work; for the first time in their lives they know that they may submit a just grievance for settlement between the union and the management without jeopardizing their jobs.

The benefits that have accrued to textile workers are much the same as those gained by the labor movement in general all across the country. Paid statutory holidays, two weeks' vacation after five years with an escalator clause which insures extra holiday pay according to years of service, hospitalization and sick benefit pay, the cost of which is in most cases entirely paid for by the company, adequate pension schemes with a compulsory retirement age of sixty-five, proper grievance procedure which prevents the company from making private deals with employees which weaken the position of the union, a high percentage of union shops making it impossible for any employee to "ride free." In Canada where TWUA only put in an appearance in 1945 at the request of the Canadian Congress of Labor, wages have been boosted on an average of twenty-five cents an hour. Because of the initially low prevailing rate this still leaves much to be desired. In the United States wage levels are very much higher, and workers are no longer ashamed to admit that they work in a textile mill.

However, TWUA's dreams have not by any means culminated in a union agreement which makes life in the mill at least tenable. In spite of increased wages, many of textile's people, especially in cities, are living in slum areas because decent houses in attractive localities and at a rent within their reach are not available to them. The union is taking this one in its stride too, the answer being the establishment of a central Credit Union—the people's bank—by which the workers will be enabled to finance their own housing projects. The latest undertaking has been the launching of a travelling library to encourage workers to read. It is true that public libraries exist in the towns, but unfortunately a very low percentage of textile workers patronize them. Perhaps by taking the library to the local union meetings, more members will learn to appreciate the value of books.

The managerial side of the industry also has problems, chief of which probably is outmoded machinery and in-

JUGGERNAUT: AMERICAN LABOR IN ACTION

by Wellington Roe

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efficient supervision. That the industry is conscious of its own shortcomings is evidenced by the foundation, two years ago, of the Provincial Institute of Textiles, at Hamilton, Ontario, which arose out of a realization that, in order to compete in a market which is becoming more and more competitive, the old methods of promotion are outmoded and new machinery must be brought into play.

In order that present employees and those interested in entering the textile field may become more efficient by knowing the "why" of production, three-year day courses and night classes on the various branches of textile manufacturing are available at the school which is well equipped with machinery and staffed with qualified instructors drawn from the industry all over the world. Enrolment is open to men and women with an Ontario Secondary School diploma or its equivalent. This year's day class of thirty includes one student from Mexico. The industry is encouraged to sponsor employees or children of employees who have given evidence that they will readily respond to specialized instruction.

Though the Ontario Department of Education bears the brunt of the financial burden of the school, the industry has helped immeasurably by giving machinery so that practical application may to some degree be combined with theory. The school offers courses in "the cotton system, the woollen and worsted systems, knitting, weaving, and dyeing and finishing," which are designed for men and women looking forward to employment in technical positions in the primary textile industries.

Obviously management is in the position of having to face the trend and begin to look around for technicians trained for the industry. The union welcomes this move on the part of management because the more efficiently a mill is run the greater the returns which will accrue to the workers through negotiations between the company and the union. However, in the installing of new machinery and the adopting of new methods which sometimes result in the displacement of employees, the union believes it should have a voice in how such changes will affect the workers. While the union appreciates the fact that the progress of science cannot be stopped, it maintains that any improvements made must be of benefit not only to the employers but also to the workers. One of the union's tasks in the future must be to protect employees displaced because of technological changes, a possibility covered in most contracts by a provision for severance pay. A recent and interesting case on this point was reported in the July 17, 1948, *Textile Labor*: "A worker is not a piece of machinery. By devoting his skill and energy to the service of an employer, he acquires an equity in his job which exceeds the sum represented by his wages. This basic principle of trade unionism gained new strength last week when an arbitrator awarded severance pay to 112 employees of a textile dye shop in New Jersey. The decision deserved close study by unions and employers alike. There was no provision for severance pay in the union contract. But the arbitrator ruled that the business was basically cooperative in nature; it had been maintained by the long and faithful service of the workers as well as by the owners and managers. They had shared in bad times and good, he found; they should continue to share now that the enterprise was being liquidated. Here is a wholesome recognition that an employer has a broader responsibility than mere selfishness, since he cannot create his business without labor, neither should he be permitted to destroy it without regard for labor." While this refers to the granting of severance pay upon a mill going out of business the same principle is involved when employees are displaced by new machinery and new methods.

On the Canadian scene the industry finds its markets within Canada. In fact, no overseas market as such exists. Competition at the present level is confined to Canadian manufacturers and will continue so as long as the embargo remains on American textiles coming into Canada. If, however, the embargo is lifted, they will be forced to modernize the industry at a greatly increased tempo. It is true that British textiles have made a bid for the Canadian market, but owing to their high prices and the fact that they cannot as yet produce enough, there exists no threat from this quarter.

In line with other CIO unions in the United States and CCL unions in Canada, TWUA is taking political action through PAC committees set up in each local union. Labor is tired of seeing hard-fought gains over the years wiped out by the passing of one act by an unfriendly government, as, for example, the Taft-Hartley Act; Bill 39 in British Columbia; and the recent amendment to the Prince Edward Island Trade Union Act. Organized labor generally realizes the power of the ballot and the need to show fellow workers that only by supporting a political party which has consistently fought labor's battles can the "beachheads" be held. Canada, in contrast to the United States, is in the position of having a labor party which labor can wholeheartedly support. Following up this stand six TWUA contracts contain a clause on voting time by which management has agreed to close the mill for two hours, without loss of pay to the workers, to enable them to vote in municipal, provincial, and federal elections. This was done, of course, to encourage the too often delinquent worker to exercise his franchise.

Perhaps one of the brightest stars on the horizon of industrial relations is the unmistakable trend toward an improvement in labor-management relations. Both parties are learning that it is in the interests of both management and labor to make every effort to promote good industrial relations regardless of whatever differences arise across the negotiating table. It must be recognized that, while both have rights and responsibilities, both have duties. However, the real test of sincerity will come when the cutback is at our doorstep, when the industry is no longer operating in a seller's market and again must compete for purchasers.

The Drury Debacle

J. Lloyd Harrington

AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES OF THE FARMERS' DEFEAT OF '23.

► WITH THE PASSING of more than a quarter-century since the spectacular rise and fall of Ontario's United Farmer Government, and the subsequent decision of the United Farmers of Ontario (UFO) to quit the political arena, the time is near for some objective appraisal of the farmers' administration and its fate, for it was the rather crushing defeat of the UFO in June, 1923, as much as its phenomenal rise to power a little less than four years earlier, which makes of it a doubly interesting episode in Ontario history. In fact, the one aspect of the farmers' movement cannot be understood without consideration, as background, of the other.

The acute political consciousness which welled up in Ontario farmers and sent 44 of their 64 candidates into Queen's Park in the 1919 contest cannot be understood in purely provincial terms, nor studied in historical isolation: it was part of a nation-wide farmers' movement. Across Canada farmers were in revolt; they were in revolt against

the tariff records of both major political parties; they were in revolt against the private dealers and speculators in grain, and aroused in favor of co-operative marketing; and further, they were alarmed at the Empire centralization which the war had brought. The launching of a new party—both nationally and provincially—was also facilitated by the partial disintegration of the two old parties at Ottawa. A federal wartime coalition of the Conservative and Liberal parties had helped to destroy the traditional lines of party thinking; a split in the ranks of the Liberal party contributed to the national political confusion. Finally, the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier cut Liberal moorings.

In such circumstances emerged the new party of the farmers—first in Ontario, to be known as the United Farmers of Ontario, then in the federal field, as the Progressive Party, and drawing its major strength from the prairies. The new movement was rooted in agricultural revolt, and was born of protest. Its growth was based largely upon the economic strength of the co-operative movement, and grew up spontaneously around that movement.

The Farmers' movement had risen on price discrepancies, the tariff, and especially on the co-operative movement. It had blossomed into a political party almost overnight...¹

The electoral success of the Ontario farmers' movement was attained without political organization in the accepted sense.² Such were the economic and political circumstances in which a leader chosen by the farm members following the election, Ernest Charles Drury, with the co-operation of eleven independent labor members of the legislature, assumed the premiership of Ontario, on November 14, 1919.

Detailed study of the legislative record of the UFO-Labor administration is neither possible nor pertinent at this time. It is a matter of record that the Drury government brought initiative and a forward-looking policy to provincial affairs. It is significant that the government was attacked not for what it did but for what it cost. An American observer wrote of the Drury administration at the time of the '23 election: "Its legislation has been progressive and is marked by a definite attempt to regard the maladjusted members of society as government liabilities."³ So the progressive and essentially humanitarian legislation of the Drury-led farmers and their labor allies was not directly an election issue. Indirectly, it was, to the extent that the government was charged with extravagances, both petty and grand.

It is here that a proper rotation of events must be kept in mind. There is a prejudice current to the effect that the UFO left office in disgrace. Chronologically, this is incorrect. The charges of extravagance made against the Drury government during the '23 campaign were stock-in-trade. Whether or not they can be credited with turning the election so decisively is questionable. It is interesting to see that *The Canadian Forum*, which showed but mild enthusiasm for the farmers' government at any time, had the following editorial comments to make: *Before* the election—"The administration has been honest, and, on the whole, efficient," *After* the severe defeat of June 25, 1923, it reiterated—"... the late government had a good record and on their record could claim a renewal of the confidence of the electors." But it did not receive that renewal of confidence, and deeper inquiry is needed to reveal the reasons.

¹Lower, A.R.M., *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada*, Toronto: Longmans, Green & Company, 1946, p. 498.

²"Not least surprising about this electoral victory was its attainment without the aids utilized by the old parties: strong newspaper support, an elaborate party machine and a richly stocked party treasury." From Brady, Alexander, *Canada*, Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1932, p. 106.

³Lindeman, E.C., "Ontario's Four Years of Farmer Government," *American Review of Reviews*, LXVII (June, 1923), pp. 628-9.

It is necessary to record that some authorities credit the rising cost of government with a significant role in the Drury debacle... "there was the unmistakeable, though to an extent defensible, fact that costs of government had been mounting in Ontario in a day of agricultural depression."⁴ The severe inflation of 1920, followed by the agricultural depression of 1921-2, when European orders for farmers' produce petered out, played havoc with the government's finances. Particularly was this so with an administration that had been quick to increase benefits to those hardest hit by rising prices during the inflationary period. It is interesting in this connection to note that the Drury government was guilty in 1922 of doing what economists today expound as sound practice—the launching, in time of unemployment and depression, of public works projects.

But these are all matters which a strong administration could have defended upon the hustings. Unfortunately for the farmers' movement, what that party could not present to the people of Ontario during the '23 election was a unified organization that knew where it was headed. Within the UFO dissension was rife during 1922 and haunted the party throughout the '23 campaign. Chief point of contention was the question of "broadening out" the farm movement. In this dispute, which received a noisy public airing during '22, the battle was waged between Premier Drury and the secretary of the UFO, J. J. Morrison. Drury's contention was that "the existing Farmer-Labor alliance must emerge into a distinct party based upon a 'broadening out' idea." J. J. Morrison charged publicly that such a move was part of a Liberal plot to take over the UFO.

Morrison's contention "... was that the farmers had revolted against the shackles of a partyism that cut vertically through the classes, with one class always holding power; that they were seeking justice for their industry and economy in administration by means of agricultural representation, and that they should keep to their original course."⁵

Added to this rather serious organizational breach was the individualism shown by the farmer members of the legislature expressed in revolt against the acceptance of formal party discipline. When it is remembered that the governing party was almost wholly without previous parliamentary experience, and that it was further dependent upon the co-operation of others in the chamber, the difficulties of the premier can be appreciated.

The election of June 25, 1923, saw the survival at the polls of only 17 of the UFO's candidates. It was thought that the tenth annual convention of the United Farmers, which was held the following December, would witness a fierce battle over the "broadening out" issue. Instead, the organization decided with little ado henceforth to "confine its attention to social, economic and educational matters and abandon political action."⁶ Presumably, it was the idea of the UFO officers that they would rather have no party than one of which they could not have exclusive control.

In the spring of the following year (1924) sensational disclosures of a treasury scandal were launched before the Public Accounts Committee of the legislature, as a result of which the defeated provincial treasurer, and several others associated with the farmer government, were committed for trial—charged with conspiracy to defraud the province. Several of those charged, including a former cabinet minister in the Drury administration, went to prison. It is outside the scope of this study to deal with the prolonged and detailed proceedings, or to pass judgment upon those

⁴Wood, L.A., *History of Farmers' Movements in Canada*, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1924, p. 337.

⁵Wood, op. cit., p. 335.

⁶Wood, op. cit., p. 337.

involved. In so highly political a setting many interpretations are possible. Thus did *The Canadian Annual Review*, 1924-5 Edition, report the affair:

"The outstanding episode in the political affairs of the Province of Ontario during 1924 was the inquiry by the Public Accounts Committee. It revealed an astonishing looseness in the Treasury Department during the UFO administration, by which the Province had been looted of hundreds of thousands of dollars."

The Canadian Forum, May, 1924, in an editorial devoted to the standing committee on Public Accounts, gave a political interpretation:

"... as the investigation proceeded, citizens feared increasingly that a *revanche* for the timber probe of the previous Government was being staged, rather than an investigation that spared no wrong-doer."

The UFO convention of December, 1923, while deciding to abandon the political field, had left the door to future political activity slightly ajar. As a rider to its decision to quit the field, the convention added that the UFO "would not oppose the formation of a political party that embodied its ideals."⁷ The events of '24 slammed that door shut. The record of the UFO-Labor government has been obscured, and the memory of it pained, by the scandal in the treasury, but the findings of the standing committee, whatever their validity, had no part in the UFO defeat, nor, so far as can be ascertained, in the decision of that party to abandon politics.

The farmers' movement, in its revolt against formal partyism, failed to give public expression to that unity of purpose and sense of direction in public affairs that the ordinary, insecure voter looks for in the party of his choice. The political inexperience of both the membership and the leadership of the UFO was an important reason for the farmers' failure; the experienced politician does not expect to be carried into office on a wave of popular sentiment; he organizes, poll by poll. What Professor Brady writes of the national Progressive Party is equally applicable to the Ontario party:

"It is not difficult to find reasons for the failure of the farmers to create in federal politics a formidable third party. They sacrificed their future in not fashioning a coherent organization, for no less than the old parties they required it."⁸

It is the opinion of Professor Lower that "the farmers' movement... had neither the leadership nor the programme for permanence."⁹ In such a situation the return of many to the ranks of Liberalism was inevitable. In the absence of a distinct social and political philosophy of their own, the Progressives were distinguished from the Liberals mainly by their zeal for implementing Liberal ideas, while the Liberals showed a tendency to procrastinate.¹⁰

Whatever the issues in the elections, provincial and national, which saw the ending of the progressive farmers' movement in the twenties, the underlying causes seem clearly to have been a serious lack of the type of organizational machinery that wins and holds constituencies, and the lack of a comprehensive and unifying social programme. It is in this setting that one sees the wisdom of A. R. M.

⁷Wood, op. cit., p. 337.

⁸Brady, op. cit., p. 110.

⁹Lower, op. cit., p. 498.

¹⁰MacInnis, Edgar, *Canada, a Political and Social History*, New York: Rinehart & Company Inc., 1947, p. 437. Of the Progressives, MacInnis writes: "The Progressives, instead of acting as effective critics and goads, found themselves drawn into a virtual working alliance with the Liberals whose professed policies on tariffs and taxation and social reform coincided with many of their own aims. When it came to implementing these professions, however, the Liberals found lavish excuses for delay."

Lower's statement: "If a successful movement of revolt was to appear, it would have to be built, not on the failures of 1919-26, but on new conceptions."¹¹

Inside Television—U.S.A. *Felix Lazarus*

► THE TELEVISION PICTURE in the United States changes so frequently that before this article is finished some of it will probably be out of date. And by the time the article reaches the reader, the author will refuse to accept responsibility for anything it contains.

For some years prior to March, 1947, the Radio Corporation of America, plus its president, David Sarnoff, plus fifty million dollars, had been warming the egg that was to become today's awkward television duckling. The heat that cracked the shell was the decision of the Federal Communications Commission in March, 1947, that televising in color was not to be permitted since it was still in the research stage, and that televising was to be restricted to black-and-white images. As a result, the last eighteen months have witnessed phenomenal growth in the industry.

As of August 1st, 1948, New York's *Televiser* magazine reports, there were just under 500,000 television receiving sets installed in American homes and "public places," 10 per cent of these in the "public places." More than half the sets are in the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut area. During June about 65,000 sets were produced, a number claimed to be insufficient to meet the growing demand. It has been estimated that ten million people saw the national political conventions on tele-sets. The writer watched one of these telecasts and the quality of the images was comparable to that of a theatrical newsreel. It was carried from Philadelphia to Washington by cable and re-broadcast from Capitol stations.

Equally impressive is the expansion in the number of broadcasting stations. In 1944 there were about half a dozen stations in the country. By August of this year there were 33 stations regularly airing programs in twenty cities from New York to Los Angeles, 87 construction permits had been granted by the FCC for new stations, and there were 293 applications for permits pending before the Commission. At present, thirteen different wave-lengths or "channels" are allocated to tele-stations by the FCC, but it is being urged that more channels of higher frequencies than those at present used be reserved for television. This terrific pressure for more stations seems remarkable since not a single television station in the United States has as yet come anywhere near showing a profit. The capital being invested in vast quantities comes from newspapers, radio stations, and motion-picture studios that dominate the television field at this time, but they look upon it as a sound investment in a mine that should soon reveal pay dirt.

Eventually it is expected that advertisers sponsoring specific programs will pay for television, just as they pay for radio, but even the RCA (NBC-TV) does not see this happening until 1952. For the present, while there is a continuing growth in the number of sponsors of tele-shows, it is a mere drop in the ocean of television costs. As one result of this comparative lack of sponsorship, the field of films made directly for televising has barely been scratched. Another result has been the development of various kinds of techniques to make the viewers pay for what they see, such as the so-called "phone-vision" in which a partial image is received on the set over the air. The image is

¹¹Lower, op. cit., p. 498.

corrected by calling the telephone company whose operator sends the rest of the image over the ordinary telephone line. This doesn't interfere with normal use of the phone, but shows up on the telephone bill.

The reason for lack of sufficient advertising money is, of course, the smallness of the television audience as compared with that of radio. To overcome this to some extent, television companies are building up networks of stations that can reach a larger audience with the same program. Since television has only a horizon to horizon range, the method used by radio-networks is not feasible. Instead, television uses either a so-called "co-axial" cable from town to town, a system of mountain-top direct-beam radio-towers, or film. The last is usually made directly from the face of a television receiving set and sent to the various members of the network to be re-broadcast. Since the cost of a continental co-axial cable is prohibitive and since the use of film means a time-lag between broadcasts of the same programs, it is predicted that eventually the country will be tied together by relay-towers. At present all three methods are being used between Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Washington.

The bulk of the financing, as has been stated, comes from the radio-stations, newspapers, and the few movie studios that have received FCC permission to operate television stations. One would suppose from this that the tele-stations would take advantage of their temporary freedom from advertiser pressure and present high-quality programs, but this has so far not been the case. The leading artists of motion-pictures and radio have preferred to remain in their own high-salaried fields for the present, though their interest in television is more than academic. The legitimate stage, and old time vaudeville, however are sharing live-studio time with the "amateur hours." Sometimes it is difficult to tell whether one has turned in on one or the other.

About 33 per cent of broadcast time is filled with film, features, and shorts. The features are generally very old and of very poor quality, "raining," as the vernacular has it, but the shorts, taken from many sources and in many cases classical documentaries, are often excellent. The pity is that for the present they are reaching a comparatively small audience and it is to be hoped that many of them will be re-broadcast when television reaches the fifty million expected in five years. A recent conference of the Society of Motion Picture Engineers was told that television will soon be consuming fifteen thousand twenty-minute shorts per year. When feature pictures are added, it is evident that television will have tremendous repercussions in Hollywood.

By far the best telecasts are the ones in which the performers can barely see the cameras—in sports. These are almost invariably exciting because they're full of movement, both on the part of the player and the cameras, thus demonstrating that television is more closely related to motion pictures than to any other part of show business. This is especially important because the American mass audience has been raised on movies and will be subconsciously comparing what it sees on the face of a television receiving tube to what can be seen on the theatre screen. So far television generally has overlooked this cardinal point.

The writer is more interested in the potentialities of television as a mass communications medium in its broadest sense, than in its entertainment value. It is typical that its ultimate possible use for educational purposes was demonstrated during the Louis-Walcott fight. Some of the larger hotels in New York have installed television sets in every room under a system called Hotelevision. This system is known as "multiple-unit,"—a master set receives the broad-

cast, which is then piped to the sets all over the hotel by wire. The individual units are inexpensive. During the above-mentioned fight many people rented hotel rooms for the evening, sharing the expenses with their friends. Thus many thousands had ringside seats, while the hotel, incidentally, did a roaring business in drinks. Many years from now some bold individual may suggest installing similar multiple unit sets in class rooms for showing films from a central source or for special programs, such as the telecasting of operations for medical students. The possibilities are limitless, but one shouldn't be too sanguine.

For the present, any Canadian who wants to see a telecast will have to go to such places as Windsor or Fort Erie, Ontario, since there is no likelihood of any immediate Canadian television development. CBC is evidently still waiting to see what happens across the line, although there is an agreement between the two countries that divides up the channels among cities within two hundred and fifty miles of both sides of the border. How Canada will eventually use this incredible medium remains to be seen. Certainly if Canada limits itself to installing sets for receiving programs from the United States, and does nothing about originating telecasts, the total impact of American sound and pictures on Canadian culture will be overwhelming.

Toronto Is Wonderful

Anna Bernard

► I HAVE JUST FINISHED reading another of those oh-so-witty sneers at Toronto. The article goes into the usual detail about morose Sundays and money-mad Mondays, the chilly aloofness of the inhabitants, and the ugliness of their buildings. To point up its remarks, it goes into raptures over the gay and open-hearted West, where the deer and antelope play tra-la, and fear and hypocrisy are unknown.

The writer of the article, is, of course, a Torontonion.

To him I extend a hollow ha-ha, and a fervent invitation to change places with me. I live in the West; in fact I have put in twenty-five years in the land of the free.

I hate the West. I would give my eye-teeth, not to mention my bridgework, to get back to Toronto.

Sure most of Toronto is dull as a ditch; I would go further, it is smug and complacent to the nth degree. It carries its conservatism to heroic extremes. It is a monument of neo-feudalism.

The rest of Toronto just has to go the limit in the other direction to assert itself. And that is what is wonderful about the city. Most cities absorb its immigrants into one grey homogeneous mass, but Toronto the Good could not suck in an energetic flea. All that faded red-brick automatically evokes a spirit of defiance in any new arrival with a spark of imagination or intelligence in his makeup. So it is that Toronto contains more genuine radicals per block than any other city in Canada.

Montreal may lift an amused eyebrow at the Shelleyesque gambols of the younger rebels, but for solid intellectual achievement, small-town Toronto has it all over sophisticated Montreal. All because that great mass of small-town stodginess keeps its intellectuals on their toes in fighting stance. Toronto the Good also keeps its offspring Toronto the Bad on its feet.

Toronto's non-conformers may congratulate themselves on their artists' poverty, but they are not exactly starving and

forgotten in garrets. Somebody buys their pictures and houses them in one of the best galleries on the continent. Somebody subsidizes the frequent concerts featuring local talent; and there must be good conservative cash behind the numerous non-profit plays, lectures, and regular publication of high-brow monthlies.

I am most sorry for the unfortunate writer of that article, who is no doubt manacled to his typewriter, so that he cannot come whooping across the yawning prairie to dwell in the land of the free. He would find it free all right: free of both incentive and money. He would settle in the golden wheat lands, and keep in form by thumbing his nose at the weather instead of the bankers. It takes rare courage to defy a prairie drought. I would advise him to buy a return ticket, because it would take him twenty years to save enough out of Western earnings to get back to Toronto where his critical talents are negotiable.

But, of course, he is only writing the loyalty test required of all would-be intellectuals; that test being an article on why Toronto is horrible. I guess I flunk it, because I think Toronto is wonderful.

We Need a National Library

Dorothy Wright

► THERE HAVE BEEN a great many words spoken over a great many cups of black coffee on the subject of the cultural backwardness of Canada. And the bad part about it all is that the words never add up to anything like an argument; they merely pile one upon the other to make the outlook blacker even than the coffee which inspires them. It seems sad that those Canadians who have the advantage of a cultural background and the intellectual maturity to benefit from it should almost all have yielded their enthusiasm up to despair over the obstacles placed in the way of their own development or, worse, contempt for those who apparently fail to realize that such obstacles exist.

Take books, for instance. There are those who can manage to bypass the obstacles by obtaining for themselves the latest books in which they are interested, who can subscribe to literary magazines of all stages of smart sophistication or bored erudition which are trusted to advise them of the very latest "musts." But although every community has a group of such individuals, the vast majority of the population still depends on the public library.

The public library, therefore, plays a very important role in the development of Canada. Man tells himself he is a thinking animal and promptly demands more than physical stimuli; where better can he get the impetus for mental growth than from books?

It is probable that very few of today's intellectuals would have attained such heights without first gaining some degree of familiarity with the thoughts and experience of intelligent men of previous ages. Unfortunately, men of previous ages have also taught us that familiarity breeds contempt; in this case, however, it often appears to breed contempt not for that with which one is familiar, but for those who are not familiar with those same things. Dull clods, those who do not know it has all been said before and, after all, really much more cogently. Why should we bother with them? Such seems to be the attitude of those who have walked with greatness. Why couldn't they accept the challenge of the little men who have to fight for self-development?

You might say that that's what librarians are made for. They have all the tools at their disposal and yet all they

seem to do is sit stamping books and cards and, on damp days, briskly ordering you to put a paper jacket on your books, please. Unless you have seen what goes on in the back room, it is impossible to realize what tremendous efforts a librarian must expend to make those books available, to make the library serve you.

Librarianship demands many things: discrimination to choose wisely from among the thousands of volumes on every conceivable subject which are printed each year; sufficient knowledge of all these subjects to be able to catalogue the books for which your taxes are spent; imagination to produce posters which will draw them to your attention; patience to find *the* book to fit your requirements or just your mood, when you yourself don't know what you want; and interest enough to persist in the whole thankless task in spite of the fact that financially it offers only the barest of livings. Is it any wonder that they leave themselves open to ridicule?

The librarians of this country are trying to do a good job; with the usually inadequate funds grudgingly granted them by their provincial or municipal governments, they are doing their best to encourage Canadians to think, to be "cultured" and to have the benefit of those things which they would like to own for themselves but can't. The trouble is that their efforts are spread over such a wide field that the results are often not impressive. Your idea of a public library may be that which is common to a lot of Canadians who have seen better; it's a rather ugly, unfunctional edifice, badly lit and probably inaccessible to those who wish to use it. Once inside, you forget to appreciate the things that don't jar on you and only rebel against those which offend you: if the catalogue provides the information you want without any difficulty, you take it for granted and sneer at the poster as being probably the worst example of primitive art *you'll* ever see; or if the poster is so good that you are intrigued into investigating, you may find that the catalogue's cross-references confuse you more than the rush-hour streetcars on Confederation Square. And you finally go away, grumpily remarking that the brightest thing about librarians is the red tape they seem to thrive on.

Admittedly, we are often disappointed in our librarians; but might they not be equally disappointed in us? It is we who pay them; wouldn't it be more business-like to provide them with the proper means and materials to give us the most for our money? It is the intellectuals who know books best and who know best what books can mean; it might not be a bad idea if they were to help make books more easily available to those who do not have that knowledge.

Those who are really interested in the mental development of the Canadian people through the development of Canadian libraries are few in number, but they do have the courage of their convictions. They have refreshing idealism which the armchair cynics of this country seem to find naive and faintly ridiculous in its optimism. But at least these "fanatics" seem, somehow, still to trust in the desire of their fellow men for mental growth. They don't scoff at those who don't know; they try and help them learn.

This small group of people, by way of such organizations as the Canadian Library Association—Association canadienne des bibliothèques, have tried to improve the libraries of Canada and the quality of librarianship, but their chances of success would be much greater if the group itself were larger. What a great deal easier for librarians it would be, for instance, if they had fewer time-consuming library chores to cope with. Librarians in almost every country but Canada are given the necessary assistance by national libraries which do much to standardize methods of cataloguing, to provide booklists and indexes, which the smaller

libraries can turn to and benefit from. Not only the cataloguers and indexers would benefit either; we all would. Our librarians might have the time and energy to be more interested in borrowers than in three-by-five cards.

There really exists no valid excuse today for Canada to be without a national library. Every once in a while you express resentment over the fact that Canada is becoming increasingly more dependent, economically, on the United States of America. Apparently this dependence does not end with economics, for who was it who gave Canadians the incentive to make books available to the general public: Andrew Carnegie, with his American capital. It's rather unnerving to think that the Canadian people are too uninterested or too apathetic to provide for themselves the best it is in them to provide. We can certainly be grateful to Mr. Carnegie for the push he gave us, but surely we can now look after ourselves!

Canadians, although you may not think it's smart to admit it, have great cause to be proud of themselves, so why not prove it to the rest of the world? Instead of conjecturing vaguely over the public air-waves about Canadians, we should be in a position to know who and what and how we are. That demands study and the facilities of a national library should be available so that we can study effectively. Why should we not even try to keep some record of our growth, economic, scientific, and cultural, so that we will have a greater reason for pride?

Sir John A. Macdonald berated the Canadian government of his day for not building a national library; Sir Wilfrid Laurier reiterated his feelings; Mackenzie King by appointing one of Canada's finest librarians, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, to the position of Dominion Archivist, is finally admitting, in the last months of his record career, that it might not be a bad idea to have a national library. After all, Siam has a national library.

André Gide

William S. Rogers

► "HONORS BEGAN by fleeing me. Later I fled honors."¹ Such was the reply of André Gide when the London Royal Society of Literature which had made him an Honorary Fellow asked him what titles and decorations should follow his name in the official list. He had none: no university degree, no membership in the French Academy, no rank in the Legion of Honor, none of the traditional distinctions of the career of the man of letters in France. In 1947, Gide made two further exceptions to his lifelong practice of fleeing public honors when he accepted, appropriately enough for so cosmopolitan a figure, two other foreign distinctions—an honorary degree from Oxford University, and the Nobel Prize for Literature. The publicity given to these awards has made a large public in America aware that André Gide, in his 79th year, is still a prolific and significant writer. The recent publication of the *Journals* in a good English translation, well annotated,² has given that public an opportunity to find out what is behind the legend surrounding André Gide, and to see the original from which so many caricatures have been drawn.

¹*Journals*, Vol. II, p. 387. Entry for 23 August, 1926.

²The *Journals of André Gide*, translated and annotated by Justin O'Brien, published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York. Volume I, 1889-1913, appeared in 1947; Volume II, 1914-1927, appeared in 1948; Volume III will appear before 1950. In all quotations from the *Journals* up to 1927, this translation has been used. Other quotations are given in my own translation.

That Gide is not an easy person to understand or to analyse will be readily admitted by anyone who has made a genuine effort to do so. It is impossible to identify him completely with any particular philosophical or literary movement; yet in his long career he has been close to such varied "isms" as protestantism, hedonism, humanitarianism, communism, symbolism, surrealism, humanism, classicism. Nor is it possible to put these in any accurate chronological order or to speak of them as successive stages in his development toward an ultimate and well-defined position. Are we to see in this anything more than the vacillation of a person too readily influenced by the divergent trends of his time? Is there any way of comprehending what seem to be the Protean contortions of his mind?

There are two possible lines of approach, it seems to me. One is suggested by the following entry in the *Journals*: "I believe my books would have been judged quite differently if I had been able to publish them all at once, just as they grew up in my mind."³ If we accept this as an invitation to read his complete literary output, we cannot fail to be struck by its bewildering diversity. If six different readers decided to approach Gide through one of his books, and one read *Les Nourritures Terrestres*, another *L'Immoraliste*, another *La Porte Etroite*, another *La Symphonie Pastorale*, another *Les Faux-Monnayeurs*, and another *Le Voyage au Congo*, each would arrive at a different picture of the author, and each picture would be a partial likeness. Few authors gain so much from a complete reading as Gide. And yet, a reading of all his works is not enough. When judging his total literary output, one must have them all present in one's mind at the same time, just as they grew up in his mind. Everything must be taken into account, and the harmony of the whole must be sought, not in the elimination or suppression of contradictory elements, but in their ultimate reconciliation.

The other line of approach, of readier access to the English reader, is that of approaching the man himself before attempting the work. Through the autobiography of the first twenty-five years of his life, *Si le Grain ne Meurt*, published in English some years ago,⁴ and now through the *Journals*, it is possible to form a lifelike and reasonably accurate picture of this complex personality.

In the *Journals* especially, against the fascinating background of a half-century of intimate contact with important artists in all fields and of many countries, we see the sincere record of Gide's hesitations and scruples, his gropings and anxieties, the periods of joy and depression, the struggle with ill-health, the violent effort to draw from himself his best work, the constant endeavor to achieve a happy equilibrium.

It is evident from these two works that Gide has had far more than his share of contradictions to resolve within himself. From his family he inherited both Protestant and Catholic traditions, both Norman and Provençal blood. His mind contained the elements of a variety of careers: a brilliant musical talent, a love for painting and sculpture, an interest in natural science, a lively critical intelligence, a gift for the translation of foreign languages, as well as his genius for creative writing in his own language. A multiplicity of choice indeed, and Gide has always had an inherent distaste for choosing and especially for eliminating the thing rejected by the choice. By the sheer strength of the urge, his writing won out of course, but the other talents have frequently fought within him for first claim upon his time. Add to this the fervor of an intensely religious nature, and the impulse of turbulent physical desires, and we have the main elements of Gide's inner conflict.

³*Journals*, Vol. II, p. 38. Entry for 12 July, 1914.

⁴Published under the title *If it die...*, Random House, 1935.

There are two planes involved in the resolution of this conflict: the plane of life itself, and the plane of artistic creation. Although the lives of Montaigne and Goethe have been an inspiration to Gide in charting the course of his life, his route remains uniquely his own. The starting-point is an assumption that all elements of his personality have certain claims which it would be wrong to ignore, and that the solution is to be found not in ruthless suppression, but in respect for the rights of each, and the harmonious development of all. This is a high ideal, and one impossible of complete achievement in human life; a dangerous ideal in that if the most rigorous self-discipline is not applied to prevent one element, and perhaps the worst, from gaining the upper hand, it risks a kind of nebulous dissolution of the personality. Gide has been accused of falling into this danger, by those who are annoyed at finding him difficult to pin down, to place in a category. His own statement in *Les Nouvelles Nourritures* is an important defence of his point of view:

"I do indeed feel, through my diversity, a constancy; for what I feel to be diverse is still *myself*. But for the very reason that I know and feel that this constancy exists, why should I seek to grasp it? All through my life, I have refused to seek to know myself; that is to say: refused to seek myself. It has always seemed to me that this search, or more exactly the successful conclusion of this search, brought with it a certain limitation and impoverishment of the being, or that only certain rather poor and limited personalities succeeded in finding and understanding themselves; or rather: that this knowledge that one acquired about oneself limited the being and its development; because one remained the person that one had discovered, anxious to keep up the resemblance to that person; and I felt that it was better to continue to protect the potential, a perpetual unseizable becoming. Inconsistency displeases me less than a certain determined consistency, than a certain will to remain faithful to oneself, than the fear of contradicting oneself. I believe, moreover, that this inconsistency is only apparent and that it corresponds to some more profound continuity. I believe also that here, as always, words betray us, for language imposes upon us more logic than life often affords, and that the most precious part of ourselves is what remains unformulated."⁵

The difficulties of such a provisional way of life throughout a long career have been partially solved in Gide's own case by the work of artistic creation, born of the struggle between opposing forces.

"I have never been able to renounce anything; and protecting both the best and the worst, I have lived as a man torn asunder. But how can it be explained that this cohabitation of extremes in me led not so much to restlessness and suffering as to a pathetic intensification of the sentiment of existence, of life? The most opposite tendencies never succeeded in making me a tormented person; but rather perplexed—for torment accompanies a state one longs to get away from, and I did not long to escape what brought into operation all the potentialities of my being. That *state of dialogue* which, for so many others, is almost intolerable became necessary to me. This is also because, for those others, it can only be injurious to action, whereas for me, far from leading to sterility, it invited me to the work of art and immediately preceded creation, led to equilibrium and harmony."⁶

Thus Gide's inner conflict is responsible for his urge to write, and at the same time is best resolved by the release of tension which accompanies the process of writing. On the

plane of artistic creation Gide can achieve a harmony which is impossible of realization on the plane of life itself. But one reflects the other, and the interpenetration of life and art, with the conflict of the one resolved in the other, is apparent throughout Gide's career.

These two passages have been quoted at length partly because of their intensely personal quality. They are typically indicative of Gide's two main preoccupations; the elaboration of his own way of life, and the fullest possible exploitation of his talents. His influence has frequently been denounced, sometimes with reason. Yet in all fairness it cannot be said that Gide has tried deliberately to pull disciples in his direction; rather he has tried to push them in their own. He has not attempted to universalize his own personal rule of conduct. In the "Envoi" of his early work, *Les Nourritures Terrestres* (1897) he had said:

"Throw away my book now. Free yourself from it. Leave me . . . Do not believe that your truth can ever be found by anyone else . . . Throw away my book. Tell yourself that it contains only one of the thousands of possible ways of facing life. Seek your own."⁷

He has not belonged to, nor sought to found any literary school. He has done his best to discourage disciples, imitators and admirers. Any form of adulation which would restrict his freedom for future development he has conscientiously striven to avoid. And the enormous contrasts in his successive works have helped: "Each of my books turns against those who were enthusiastic for the preceding one. That will teach them to applaud me only for the right reason and to take each of my books simply for what it is: a work of art."⁸ It also teaches us the necessity of judging his life's work as a whole. For, varied as they are, each of his books is a part of Gide himself.

WORKS OF ANDRÉ GIDE PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION
(in chronological order of their first publication in French).

French title	English title
<i>Le Prométhée mal enchainé</i> (1899)	<i>Prometheus Ill-Bound</i> (Chatto and Windus, 1919)
<i>L'Immoraliste</i> (1902)	<i>The Immoralist</i> (Alfred A. Knopf, 1948)
<i>La Porte Etroite</i> (1909)	<i>Strait is the Gate</i> (Alfred A. Knopf, 1924)
<i>Isabelle</i> (1911)	<i>Isabelle</i> (Alfred A. Knopf, 1931; in <i>Two Symphonies</i>)
<i>Les Caves du Vatican</i> (1914)	<i>Lascadio's Adventures</i> (Alfred A. Knopf, 1927)
<i>Souvenirs de la Cour d'Assises</i> (1914)	<i>Recollections of the Assize Court</i> (Hutchinson and Co., 1941)
<i>La Symphonie pastorale</i> (1919)	<i>The Pastoral Symphony</i> (Alfred A. Knopf, 1931; in <i>Two Symphonies</i>)
<i>Dostoïevsky</i> (1923)	<i>Dostoevsky</i> (Alfred A. Knopf, 1926)
<i>Si le grain ne meurt . . .</i> (1926)	<i>If It Die . . .</i> (Random House, 1941)
<i>Les Faux-Monnayeurs</i> (1926)	<i>The Counterfeiters</i> (Alfred A. Knopf, 1927)

⁵*Les Nouvelles Nourritures*, pp. 115-116.

⁶*Journals*, Vol. II, p. 343. Entry at end of 1924.

⁷*Les Nourritures terrestres, Oeuvres Complètes*, Vol. II, p. 223.

⁸*Journals*, Vol. II, p. 352. Entry for 24 June, 1924.

<i>Voyage au Congo</i> (1927)	<i>Travels in the Congo</i> (Alfred A. Knopf, 1929)
<i>L'Ecole des femmes</i> (1929)	<i>The School for Wives</i> (Alfred A. Knopf, 1929)
<i>Essai sur Montaigne</i> (1929)	<i>Montaigne</i> , (Horace Liveright, 1929)
<i>Retour de l'U.R.S.S.</i> (1936)	<i>Return from the U.S.S.R.</i> (Alfred A. Knopf, 1937)
<i>Retouches à mon Retour de l'U.R.S.S.</i> (1937)	<i>Afterthoughts on the U.S.S.R.</i> (Dial Press, 1938)
<i>Journal, 1889-1939</i> (1939)	<i>The Journals of André Gide, 1889</i> (Alfred A. Knopf, 1947)
<i>Interviews imaginaires</i> (1943)	<i>Imaginary Interviews</i> (Alfred A. Knopf, 1944)

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 160)

to close therefore with a statement by Azzam Pasha made to Jewish leaders in 1947 when they attempted to convince him that the Arabs should accept the existence of a Jewish state without war. "The Jews will have no state unless they obtain and hold it. By the logic of our history we shall fight it. Unless you can first resist the entire Arab world you cannot even be entitled to discuss agreement. We once had Spain and Persia. If anyone had come beforehand and asked us to surrender Spain or Persia he would have received the same negative response as I now give you."

No one can deny that the people of Israel are now "entitled to discuss agreement." Let us all hope that these discussions will result in a permanent peace for the Holy Land, and that the peoples of the Near East, Israeli, Arabs, and Turks, cooperate together to bring a new period of cultural and material advancement to a now depressed corner of the world. *Martin Lipset, Berkeley, California.*

The Editor: Gawd only knows that I can't afford a subscription to *The Canadian Forum*, financially, that is to say; but otherwise I find that I can't do without it: it's a habit. So you'll find a money order hereabouts to pay for one year's subscription, plus 50c to pay for "Labor Unions in Canada," by A. Andras, from your Book Service.

Somehow or other, by scrounging copies from friends (mainly fellow-CCFers) or reading public library copies, I've managed to read most issues since 1938 and last summer in the Calgary public library I had the pleasure of reading many back copies. I have no complaints to make against the liberal policy of *The Forum* and I would certainly object to its becoming a partisan publication, tooting its horn for a political party, plugging a personality, or selling a new laundry soap. I do object to your readers who insist on assuming that *The Forum* must be a Canadian *New Statesman* and *Nation*, *The Nation*, or *The New Republic*. Let's just let *The Canadian Forum* be unique—as I think it is. I suspect that many of the intellectual types who read your mag just simply must classify its contents.

It would be difficult to read anything better than the articles written by Mr. Underhill. I recall with warmth the very fair and accurate account he made of the Calgary conference of Western Labor Parties in 1932, at which the CCF was born. His predictions at that time in *The Forum* have been fulfilled.

Before I leave off, I wish to compliment D. Mosdell for her excellent film reviews. And I do think great credit is belatedly due your super-careful proof readers and make-up men in the printing mechanical department where the *Forum* rolls out. Your make-up men show great taste, I think, and the imprint is always clean and even, flawless.

Yours for greater circulation success,
Harry W. Walker, Kingston, Ontario.

P.S. I'm a DVA university student who is trying to "put a little by" for the winter session by passing hot rivets, mixing cement and what-have-you.

Abstract Plans

We shall build our cottage where running water gleams,
And plant the ground with roses and sow the day with dreams.

I will shape the windows to watch the road go by,
With one to catch the starlight and parallel the sky.
And you shall watch my labor, and call me back at noon,
And we shall dream together and watch the rising moon.
And I shall say the summer is running short of dyes
To emulate your beauty, and counterfeit your eyes.
And we shall live forever (a little episode)
A little past the river, a little down the road.

Alfred W. Purdy

Effect of Writing Poetry in Solitary Confinement

The spectres of meters and rhymes and rhythms,
Ghosts that haunt, defy exorcisms,
Refuse to avault,
And won't stay typed and dead.
On trampling feet that repeat and repeat
They tread and tread in the head;
And the temples begin to strain at taut skin,
Eye-sockets prickle and burn
And reality fades to distant shades,
Threatening non-return.
Only drink or thrills will cure these ills.

So perhaps one should avoid symmetry
In solitary poetry.

J. L. Smallwood

Man and I Lie Down

Man and I lie down
Before the moon, below stones
Along the bend of sea.

Hiding the head from horror
We think sometimes of armies
And low moaning of children.

For man and I the horror token
Of past days and thoughts builds
To nothing less than explosion.

Man and I hasten to condemn,
Yet listen and repent
In the dark still of sea and night and stone.

Douglas Lockhead

River and City

Out of the heart of this earth- and rock-bound land,
Part history explained,
Crawls the centuried river to engage
Man's sea-faring nature, diuturnal bound.

Stark, stand the hills stark
As ice-bound seas,
And in the shivering dark
The naked trees,
Mark
Where the sleet-grey sky, the hills, the river freeze.

The port, sky-scraper stretched along the river,
Life-sleeping never,
Turmoil-pulsed full, full of twisting rage,
Tooth-jagged, gnaws at the tide- and timeless mover.

Stone heart of the city, stain
On the edging flood,
Stifles the human brain
With granite blood.

Always the same flow of street-drugged faces,
Going to the old places,
Turning the same old corner, same old page,
Unmindful, most, of where time and the river rises.

The cold canyons, chrome and granite,
Snow on the ice,
Whiting the sepulchered street—
Steel sacrifice.
Sleet
Whips the citted spires with watery device.

Be—as the stream is never twice-stepped; so
Do what is to do;
Life is fragments against rock age,
And rivers run but to the sea.

Ronald G. Bates

The Amiable Soul

Clarence Alva Powell

► NOW JOHN RAVEL was a stolid sort, had been all his life, not entirely unimaginative but practical and matter-of-fact. He was a big man over two hundred pounds, not clumsy but slow and methodical, and carrying easily his six-foot-two frame.

He looked across the bar slightly abashed, his blue eyes wakening to life, so the man behind the bar was impressed, very likely for the first time in his life. It was the first time the two men had ever met, and it was the first time that John Ravel had ever gone into a public drinking place.

"What will it be?" the barkeep asked, nonchalantly; for it was early, eleven a.m., and this was his first customer of the day.

"Well, whatever you sell," John said cautiously, "maybe . . ."

"Maybe ale?" Stanley hazarded.

"Yes," John answered with assurance. "An ale."

While he sipped slowly, and not entirely relishing the drink, he surveyed the array of bottles before him, and the other objects of interest in Stanley's Bar.

"Live around here?" Stanley ventured, rinsing some glasses and straightening the rows of bottles on the glass shelves behind the bar; studying, meantime, this new reflection in the mirror.

"Over on Harveth," John replied. "Three blocks from here."

"Hm," Stanley frowned. "Must be new in the neighborhood, then. Never saw you before."

"First time I ever came in here," John said, smiling suddenly. "But I've been living there twenty-three years."

Stanley stopped abruptly, his expression one of surprise. "But man," he exclaimed. "I live on Kinder Street just a block from Harveth, and that's two from here—and I've been there twenty years, had this place twelve years and I never saw you before in my life."

"That's odd, alright." And John's eyes showed tolerant amusement.

"Why, dammit, man," Stanley ejaculated. "It's impossible!"

"My name is John Ravel," John offered.

"I'm Stanley Koman," the other acknowledged. "Have another ale; this one is on me."

"Alright," John Ravel warmed naturally to this amiable gesture. "I think I will."

"You can see what I do, Mr. . . er, John; I own this joint and I'm a barkeeper. What do you do for a living, John?"

"I'm an accountant, a public accountant," and he said it simply, without pride; and might just as well have said, or so Stanley thought, "I'm a ditch digger," or "I'm a tree pruner," or something like that.

Stanley was beginning to like this big, fair-haired fellow, struck by his ponderous but easy manner. "What do you usually do in your spare time . . . evenings, I mean?" he asked.

"Sometimes work around the house," John toyed with the half-empty glass. "Mow the lawn—manage to keep busy."

Stanley snorted, "Me, I have to do those jobs in the morning, early. Course on Saturday I have to work, too. On Sunday I rest."

"Well," John met his eyes squarely. "I ought to be straightening up a panel of fence next to the garage right now—it was knocked down last night when our boarder got home; banged into it with his car. Made me mad, too; he's always doing something like that."

"Boarder?" Stanley muttered. "Don't like 'em. Wouldn't have one in the house."

"I don't like them either," John laughed bitterly. "But we've got one—had him for the last twenty-two years now."

"What?" Stanley dropped his hands flat on the bar and stood across from John staring at him blankly.

"Yes," John reiterated. "We've had him for twenty-two years, and sometimes you'd think he owned the place."

"I'd throw the bastard out," Stanley said.

"That's why I came in, maybe," John said. "Maybe to talk to someone average, and see if I'm normal; see if what I done would've been done by anybody, say, like you."

"Wouldn't tolerate it a damned bit," Stanley growled.

"Been getting on my nerves," John agreed. "Been getting on my nerves for a long time now."

"Twenty-two years," Stanley repeated aloud, but more to himself.

"At first," John said, "I didn't mind it so much, because he was younger and was out a lot on week-ends. But lately, being older, he was always sitting around the house, just sitting all day Saturday and Sunday, all the time, and in the way all the time."

"I'd throw him out, I'd sure throw him out," Stanley muttered, glowering.

"Why," John recalled, "Only night before last he had the nerve to tell me that the kitchen needed to be painted again."

"He did, eh?"

"Yes sir, he sure did. And that wasn't all . . . he bought a second-hand car for the house about a month ago, for my son to drive, and the wife . . . and he expected me to have the engine overhauled; yes sir, he had the gall to ask me to pay the bill for that repair job."

Stanley began to whistle and to polish the bar vigorously, a fierce scowl on his face.

"Guess I'd better be getting back," John said. "I've enjoyed talking to you, though."

Stanley tilted his dark, curly head back and studied him severely. "Come back in again sometime," he invited. "I'd be glad to see you again."

"Thanks. I'd like to." John looked around the shadowed place. "It's peaceful here," he said.

"Yeah, it is now," Stanley agreed. "But don't ever come at night expecting to find it this way . . . lots of crowds then, and noise."

"This would be quiet," John emphasized. "It sure would."

"Any day," Stanley jutted his lower jaw out, like a fighter. "Any day, or every day," he said firmly.

"If I could, I would," John stated. "It's peaceful here. I could think here. You know," he confided, "for the last twenty-two years, once I walked into my house, I didn't have a life of my own to live. I was just like putty and did what I was told to do, and said what I was told to say; and said nothing, just kept my mouth shut most of the time."

"Is that so?" Stanley bristled with indignation.

"Sure," John smiled. "I've been no better than a fool in my own house. Why, that boarder was treated more like a human being than I ever was."

"He was, eh?"

"Sure. He had all the privileges of the house, came in and went where he wanted to . . . why, I wasn't even allowed to invite my own friends, without his O.K."

"The hell you say!"

"Sure," John sat down again and Stanley, from force of habit, shoved another drink to him. "Sure," John said. "The only place I was ever free was at work. Why, I could drive over, say, to the other side of town and likely as not if I parked in front of some store or some place, up would drive the boarder or my wife in his car, just to stick their noses in my own business."

"Yeah?" And Stanley smacked a bottle that he had been holding down on the bar so sharply that it broke in his hand, the liquor splashing over them both.

"But they just wanted me to get mad, I know," John explained laboriously, drawing a handkerchief from his hip pocket and mopping his big, wet face. "They just wanted to get me mad," he went on, "because they knew I was an easy-going man, and that it wasn't very easy to get me mad."

Stanley hadn't moved. He just stood there staring at John, rivulets of whiskey running down his face, glistening drops in his hair, and blood trickling from his cut hand. "I'd kill the son-of-a-bitch!" he said.

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O CANADA

In a surprise announcement, W. Garfield Case, Progressive Conservative MP for Grey North, announced during the week that he would be a candidate for the party leadership at the Progressive Conservative convention. Apparently Mr. Case is running as a means of calling upon the party to redecorate itself to the principles which so happily inspired it in times past. (Globe and Mail)

This is not a Conservative-inspired article in the "my-party-right-or-wrong" sense. It does however point up the Progressive Conservative party as the only party which stands for the continuance of the well-tried system of competitive business. It suggests that as long as the P-C's stand for such a system, they are the only existent party which "business" and those who believe in "business" can possibly support. This seems completely obvious when we consider the alternatives. Of these we have the socialist CCF, which admits quite honestly that it stands for the socialization of business. Then we have the Liberals, who have retained power this past decade by steadily stealing the planks from the CCF platform, usurping more and more dictatorial power from year to year, and generally emulating the sinister policies of those whose credos coincide so very closely not only with those of the British type of socialism, but also those of National Socialism and Communism. (Canadian Broadcaster.)

At a meeting of the Toronto Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church this week a request was received from the United Nations association that the United Nations be commended to the congregations. No action was taken after one of the most prominent ministers had asked, "Why is it people only come to us when they are in trouble?" and had complained that the United Nations Assembly never had prayers at its sessions. He said it was a good time for the church to get its own back and make the United Nations recognize God. (Toronto Daily Star.)

While the play [The Oberammergau Passion Play] is wholly religious in theme, dealing with the last seven days in the life of Christ, Mr. Coons stressed that it was also "good theatre," and added that during last year's performances the play was outgrossed only by the ebullient "Hellzapoppin'" of Olsen and Johnson. (Winnipeg Citizen)

Mr. Money, vice-president of Canadian Legion Branch No. 142, said he had contacted 25 business and professional men to take his place on the program, but was turned down, over half of them giving the same reason. "They are afraid of being boycotted by the radical element of labor, or of trouble from the union they employ," he said. "I say the use of intimidation is going too far." (Vancouver Sun)

This month's prize of a six month's subscription goes to Miss Joan Lampel, Toronto, Ont. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication.

Film Review

D. Mosdell

► THE ACTUAL RELATIONSHIP between the average American citizen, the criminal, and the law is very neatly mirrored in Hollywood crime pictures. To begin with, the movie criminal has no status as a citizen; he is the powerful outlaw, hunted by the police with a passion for the chase which has less to do with an enthusiasm for human justice than with a determination to show that the Law is even more powerful. The movie citizen, usually and significantly an innocent bystander, watches the ding-dong chase with the same kind of spectator-feeling which animates the audience of any Bogart-Bacall opus. He feels free to admire, quite irrationally, the criminal who is powerful enough to be getting away with crime, and romantic enough to rate the trimmings of a rather cheesy glamour. Equally irrationally, he sees the police force as a necessary evil, and assents, almost with regret, to the final obligatory triumph of justice, as a price to be paid by the individual to the Law and its unpopular custodians. Himself he regards as separate from the criminal, but also as separate from the police; sometimes, out of a romantic and misplaced sym-

pathy, he may shelter the fugitive; but if he helps the police, it is because he has an eye on the reward. He and his real-life counterpart have this in common: that they seldom, if ever, realize that both ethically and legally the citizen is as much a custodian of the law as the paid guardians of it; nor does it occur to them that they have any duty towards the enforcement of community law beyond simple obedience as individuals. The American movie audience watches the crime movie in somewhat the same spirit—that is, irresponsibly. It is this sense of being essentially uninvolved in the crime-versus-law drama which makes crime movies good “entertainment,” and which prevents even the crime-does-not-pay movies from having any serious effect on the mass of law-abiding citizens.

The inference is obvious enough: Americans generally respect power, whichever side of the law it happens to be on; with them, individualism as such is a positive virtue, and justice relative rather than absolute and necessary rather than desirable in itself. So we frequently see a successful criminal like Al Capone basking in public admiration, and hear the cynical maxim that if a man is a big enough criminal, naturally he gets off.

Contrast these assumptions with those which underlie a picture like *Escape*, made from a Galsworthy play in England, by Twentieth-Century Fox. To begin with, the criminal is a citizen first, and a criminal by accident; his motive for striking an officer is essentially humanitarian; that the officer fell and died as a result of the blow was sheer bad luck. The courts, however, try and convict him on a charge of manslaughter and send him to Dartmoor for three years hard. Filled with resentment at this unjust treatment he escapes, and the hunt is on. He is cornered, gives himself up, and returns to prison.

An American treatment of such a theme would leave no room for a sympathetic attitude towards the law; in America justice and pity do not go hand in hand. In *Escape*, however, the police are presented, both in appearance and in action, as intelligent people not much different from ordinary citizens, neither feared nor worshipped, but acknowledged and accepted as people with a necessary job to do. The citizens who are involved in the story vary in their points of view, from the young heroine who shelters the fugitive because she is a rebel in theory as he is in practice, to the minister who points out the practical gap between ideal or absolute justice and the working assumptions of the law in all their imperfections, and reconciles the hero to the demands of the latter.

It is therefore assumed that in the conflict between the individual and society, the civilized individual must impose some restraints on his individualism; that the law on the whole is just. In a specific instance, it is regrettable that a mistake should be made, but there is no justification for roundly declaring that the law is an ass, and withdrawing to the position of the detached observer of the passing show. The citizen, and the individual, is never absolved from the duty of seeing that the law should be improved and adapted to take cognizance of motive and intent.

The net result, of course, of such a film is that the audience, like the movie citizens, adopt some attitude, become by transference involved in the situation and aware where their sympathies chiefly lie; with the silly and romantic heroine, the idealistic hero, the clergyman who sees virtue in compromise, or with the bucolics in the film who chase the hero with pitchforks and no intelligence, and are disappointed when the police intervene. In Hollywood crime films there is usually no argument possible; one is entertained and one goes away, with nothing to discuss but the photography or the admirable pace. *Escape*, by contrast, seems like the civilized product of a civilized com-

munity, with some of the complexity and necessarily blurred quality which mixed impulses, motives, and addled thinking produce in real life; it is not an escape picture in anything but title.

Recordings

Milton Wilson

► THE NEW COLUMBIA ALBUM *Bach Organ Music*, played by E. Power Biggs, contains four compositions, three of which are among Bach's greatest. There is the monumental *Prelude and Fugue in E flat*, the popular *Fantasia and Fugue in G minor*, the *Tocatta in F major*, and also the enjoyable *Chorale-Prelude* (here labelled *Fugue*) *Wir glauben all' an einem Gott* (the larger version). The recorded sound is clear and brilliant in quality, but too reverberant for my taste. Comparing this album with the old Columbia one by Schweitzer (they have only the *Fantasia and Fugue* in common), I am struck with a number of differences in recording and style of performance. Schweitzer has far less brilliance of sound but also less echo and muddiness of texture. His performances have less surface effectiveness than Biggs' and a devotee of the latter might find them stodgy, but personally I find them direct and authoritative. If you like Bach's organ music you will probably not want to do without either album.

Lily Pons sings with a certain brilliance and technical agility but rarely with any noticeable intelligence or sensitiveness. In her new Columbia set she certainly delivers a number of hair-raising cadenzas, but as an example of coloratura singing I prefer the mezzo Jennie Tourel, whose Columbia album I reviewed some months ago, and who shows less fireworks but more taste. Miss Pons is at her best with fireworks and at her worst in more level passages in her lower register, as in the aria from *Coq d'Or*, where her watery tremolo makes most unpleasant listening. Also included in her new album are *Una Voce poco fa*, with much added vocal display, and arias by Gretry and Offenbach. She is accompanied by Andre Kostelanetz.

The Politics of Equality

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by Leslie Lipson

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TURNING NEW LEAVES

► PRESUMABLY PROFESSOR LASKI intends his book on *The American Democracy** to be a magnum opus. It is nearly 800 pages long, and it displays a mastery of all the significant works that have been written on American history, economics, sociology, religion, philosophy, law and literature. It is full of penetrating observations on every aspect of American civilization, observations which are worth pondering whether you happen to be a socialist along with him or not. His exposition of the fundamental American faith in democracy is inspiring; and he seems to know everything about American daily life from movies and gum-chewing to tourism and church-going. Some of the sections, such as that on American universities, make delightful reading because of their high spirits. And the reader is certainly left in awe at the range of Professor Laski's knowledge, an awe which is only deepened by the shock of discovery every now and then that there is the odd subject on which he does not feel competent to pass magisterial judgment. However I don't think his publishers did him a real service by suggesting so prominently on the book-jacket a comparison with Tocqueville and Bryce.

His main theme is that the faith of the American people in their democratic destiny now faces a crisis. American social institutions are working to thwart democratic aspirations, and the United States faces its third revolution without being intellectually prepared for it. Every chapter leads up to this conclusion, and the evidence is marshalled very impressively. The author frequently expresses confidence in the depth of the American democratic faith, but the cumulative effect of his evidence seems to be defeatist. For his thesis is presented almost entirely in Marxian terms. While he admits several times that the economic interpretation of history is a strait-jacket too simple for the complexity of the facts, he keeps coming back to the Marxian categories. The development of American monopoly capitalism has resulted in inherent contradictions; this is what stifles a further free spontaneous growth of democratic culture; no governing class ever abdicates voluntarily. Etc. Etc. So an irrepressible conflict once more looms up in American history.

While he takes so many pages in presenting the case for this conclusion, Professor Laski has hardly any space for evidence that might modify it. He does not deny the achievements of American progressives, he simply brushes them aside as insignificant. He affirms so absolutely that the Rooseveltian New Deal did not produce a new social order that he can hardly spare a page for what it did do. He has all the evidence about racial discrimination against the Negroes, but it never occurs to him to ask whether the present excitement over this issue isn't really due to the fact that the position of the Negro is improving. The sharecroppers and the Okies are right up at the front of his stage, but the unwary reader who didn't know something about American agriculture beforehand would hardly guess of the existence of thousands of comfortable farmers in the North; and his gloomy picture of the way in which agriculture is sacrificed to the market-economy of business so completely neglects such phenomena as government support of farm prices that one wonders about the principles on which he collected his evidence. And sometimes the Marxian framework becomes just plain ridiculous. Thus in his chapter on culture and learning, he pays tribute to the high quality of contemporary American historiography, and states that literary criticism has reached a stage of maturity never before approached in the United States; but the chapter ends

up with the good old Marxian conclusion of the frustration of the intellectuals in the bonds of monopoly capitalism.

But however much one may disagree on particular points, the book would undoubtedly be impressive if it were about half as long. It is not a magnum opus because it is twice as long as it needs to be. It is full of endless and wearisome repetitions, both in its arguments and in its illustrations. It reads as if it had been composed by dictation into a dictaphone and had never been checked for content or style after the typist's proof-reading. And some of the repetitions become distinctly annoying. If it weren't for the rising cost of living I should like to offer a prize to any reader who can discover any aspect of American life which is discussed for at least two paragraphs in this book and which fails in those two paragraphs to remind Professor Laski of something about Mr. Justice Holmes or Mr. Justice Brandeis or Mr. Justice Frankfurter.

When a really great book is produced it is because the author has brooded over his material until somehow an inevitable pattern seems to emerge, something imposed by the nature of the facts which the author did not foresee at all. Tocqueville did not approve of democracy, but he was so profoundly moved by his discovery of the difference between American and European democracy that his book will be read as long as there are people on this planet who continue to think about the problems of government and society. Bryce was a complete English Gladstonian Liberal, and he found an American Commonwealth that was neither English nor Gladstonian, but he went through the profound and unexpected experience of discovering that it worked; so his book is still fresh. But Professor Laski knew all the answers before he came to America; he had a ready-made pattern. So his book is a dull mechanical product, because all that he has done is to fit his material into rigid predetermined Marxian categories. To see how far short he falls of having produced a good book one need only compare his volume with the much less pretentious one which Graham Hutton published a year or so ago, *Midwest at Noon*. Mr. Hutton settled down and lived in the mid-west during the war years, and made surprising discoveries about its maturity and its complexity, with the result that his study is human and revealing.

No doubt the impression is unfair, but as one reads on through the Laski book one has a growing suspicion that in spite of its parade of learning this is just another book by an English intellectual who can't stand the exuberant vitality of the Americans, their vulgar cheerfulness and optimism, and who has rationalized his distaste in a Marxian framework. The intellectuals of the British Labor party are all a little too busy just now in finding reasons for disliking the Americans. Professor Laski has some caustic remarks about this kind of snobbery when exhibited by earlier English and European commentators, but he is not entirely free from it himself.

The American democratic way of life is in danger, and its most dangerous enemies are those within the American community. But the Laski type of Marxian logic is far too rigid a frame of reference to be used as a basis of fruitful judgments. There is one statement of Mr. Justice Holmes of which Professor Laski has not reminded himself sufficiently often. This is his remark that the life of the law has not been logic, it has been experience; a remark which is applicable to both the English and the American democracies as well as to their common law. Professor Laski should visit America again. He should attend a few baseball or football games, instead of listening to the intellectuals in the faculty clubs explain how Americans nowadays are capable only of the passive reception of manufactured entertainment. He should go to the movies, read the

*THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, by Harold J. Laski; Toronto, Macmillan; pp. x, 785; \$8.00.

funnies and listen to the quiz programs, instead of taking notes about them from books by sociologists. He should get into a car, tour about the Mid-West, and watch the corn and the wheat grow. Then he might write a book which wouldn't remind one so much of a sour stiff Marxian old maid telling the American family how to bring up their children.

FRANK H. UNDERHILL.

BOOKS REVIEWED

Democracy in New Zealand

THE POLITICS OF EQUALITY: Leslie Lipson; W. J. Gage (University of Chicago Press); pp. XIV, 520; \$6.00.

In proportion to its size New Zealand has attracted more good writing about itself by outside observers than any other British Dominion. Both Bryce and Siegfried have studied it. Our own Professor Alexander Brady's recent book on *Democracy in the Dominions* deals with it. Mr. Lipson is not exactly an outsider. He is an Englishman who spent from the beginning of 1939 to the end of 1946 as a professor of Political Science in New Zealand. Having moved to the United States, he has written this book to give his considered conclusions about the country.

The book should be read and re-read by all intelligent and inquisitive CCFers. We seem to be unable to get objective and illuminating reports in our papers about New Zealand. CCF papers publish stuff that makes it look like a paradise, while the right-thinking press contains only reports that are equally flamboyant in their coloring but of a very different color. Mr. Lipson leaves no doubt that the New Zealand community is both socialist and democratic; but his discussion of this fundamental question of the relationship between socialism and democracy, as illustrated by the South Pacific experience, should come to North American readers with the same shock of revelation that Tocqueville's discussion of the relationship between liberty and democracy, as illustrated by America, brought to European readers in the 1830's.

Mr. Lipson's theme is that democracy to New Zealanders has always meant equality, and that modern experiments in socialism are motivated by the urge to carry equality further. He does not discuss the economic side of this state socialism. His subject is the politics of equality. So, dividing New Zealand history into two halves—the second half begins in 1891 with the coming of the Liberals into power—he traces out how this passion for equality has transformed the electoral system, the working of parliament and of the administration, and the structure of political parties, and how it has produced a community in which public enterprise steadily takes over more functions from private enterprise. CCFers should find instruction in every chapter. He is critical of the New Zealand distrust of intellectual distinction which shows itself in a reluctance to take university men into the civil service and into the policy-making circles of the Labor party. He is evidently a little bit worried over the proportion of the population who now work for the state: "so many are doing so much for so few." He gives realistic appraisals of the Labor leaders, Savage, Fraser, Nash and the others. He analyses the growth of the power of the party caucus over prime minister and cabinet. And he is especially good on the underlying social forces that brought Labor into power in 1935:

"It should be noted that the distribution of Labor's support in 1938 was practically identical with that of the Liberals in 1890. Fifty years apart two progressive parties won elections in which they predominated in urban areas

and were evenly matched against their opponents in rural districts. Since the same pattern was repeated, this suggests that Labor succeeded in reuniting the two important groups which were once allied during the Liberal ascendancy. In the intervening period (1905-1935) the industrial workers and the small farmers were in separate camps... The alliance of 1890 was born of a depression. Between 1935 and 1938 the alliance was reconstituted in answer to another depression... Here, then, is the conditioning basis of New Zealand's politics and the clue to understanding its party history. There exists a solid central bloc of voters who want security first and foremost all the time. They will swing leftward only if times remain continuously bad, and will gravitate back to conservatism with prosperity... In 1941 a prominent Labor leader commented to the writer: "Some people will think that the workers are seething for a chance of revolution. They're not. What they want is security—a job, a place to live, and something to eat." This solid central core, which holds the balance of power through its sheer voting numbers, is not, strictly speaking, a proletariat. It is composed of all people with small incomes and slender reserves—of industrial workers, small shopkeepers, the lower paid of the civil servants and school teachers, the small farmers and farm laborers. Never revolutionary, sometimes experimental, and disposed to try out a novelty, always anxious and insecure, these form the essence of New Zealand... To unite all their component groups, and to keep them long united, requires first a depression of some magnitude, and then a period of recovery... It is their needs and desires, their attitudes and aspirations, which are responsible for the peculiar blend of state enterprise and state-controlled capitalism that characterizes New Zealand."

The bearing of these remarks upon our Canadian politics is too obvious to need emphasizing. New Zealand politics and government today are very much like what Canadian politics and government will be when the CCF comes into power. It is not an unattractive fate which awaits us. But we can learn a good deal of what it really will be like by studying this book in advance.

Frank H. Underhill.

GANDHI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY: M. K. Gandhi; Public Affairs Press; pp. 640; \$6.25.

Mahatma Gandhi published his autobiography over twenty years ago under the title, "My Experiments with Truth." This was admittedly a narrative of events and experiences which helped him to evolve his philosophy of life. The last few years witnessed the impact of his way of life with life as it is. He witnessed the triumph of Gandhism over Imperialism and of pacifism over violence. An account of these years would not only have completed the experiments with truth, but also given further insight into the mind of a man who meant so much to so many. The new edition of Gandhi's autobiography is somewhat misleading. Although it happens to be just another reprinting of "The Experiments with Truth," its new title and reference to "copyright 1948" convey the impression that it has more added to it—which is both inaccurate and unfair to a reader who buys a book without first looking into its contents.

Mahatma Gandhi's Autobiography is not a literary achievement. It is a straightforward account of the man's earlier life written in language marked by utter simplicity and abstemiousness in the use of words. Its straightforwardness and simplicity is almost brutal. To the uninitiated, accounts of visits to brothels and discussions on sexual indulgence in married life will seem improper and concern over the ethics of fasting, vegetarianism, and nature's cures somewhat naive. Yet once one starts turning over the pages,

there is something almost hypnotic which arrests one's attention, something so striking in its sincerity that accepted conventions seem so much cant and humbug, something so honest that one is compelled to look within oneself and question one's values of life. That gives this autobiography a place on the shelf in every home in every part of the world.

Kaval Khushwant Singh.

FROM MANY ONE: Crane Brinton; S. J. Reginald Saunders (Harvard); pp. 126; \$2.75.

For those who are willing to relinquish a faith in political miracles and rely instead on the evidences of the historical process this is "the pause that refreshes." Crane Brinton is McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History at Harvard University and the author of several books dealing with the general subject of this one, the unfolding of man's political genius. The subtitle of the present book is: *The Process of Political Integration and the Problem of World Government*. Admirably written with a spice of wit, *From Many One* sets out the historian's beliefs on the chief project of our day: the effort to achieve world government. His theories are based, as is usual with the western scholar, on western history and western psychology. Peace in the west, he points out, has never been kept for any considerable period except within the authority of a single government. He concedes that long-lasting peace is impossible among sovereign states. Single government has been achieved either by imperialism or federalism. But no government maintains itself in either case unless certain conditions exist. These include a symbolic head of state accompanied by ceremonial pomp and ritual; an "elite" (though he dislikes the word) that rises above sectionalism and is conditioned morally and intellectually to the service of the integrated state; some loyalty on the part of the masses; some degree of local autonomy for units of the federation; an absence of *irredenta*, the Polands and Irelands of the modern world.

Dr. Brinton does not believe that even the new factors, our new forms of communication, modern industrial economy or the atomic bomb, will of necessity alter the pattern of human processes. Fear, such as may be provoked by the atom bomb, creates anxiety and aggression, not confidence and co-operation; it is even conceivable that "if our sentiments and our habits cannot adapt themselves" in time to the needs of large-scale industry "we shall have to abandon large-scale industry." World government in our time, he believes, would be possible only if one of the three possible candidates for world conquest could enforce world federation: Britain, United States or Russia. He does not believe that "any of the three has what it takes to do the job," nor does he believe that an Anglo-American conquest of the world is possible. He sees greater prospect for ultimate world federation, but not in our time. The obstacles to world federation by consent are obviously very great, and must be overcome slowly and organically for permanence and success.

Another world war, this historian thinks, is probable, but not for thirty or forty years. The United Nations can lengthen the spells between wars. "The United Nations is like a spray which we've got to keep using; we may not then get perfect fruit, indeed we shan't get perfect fruit, but we ought to get a crop." Some form of political integration transcending the sovereign state seems to him an almost inevitable purpose for those of generous hopes. Perhaps the reason that universal states in the past are associated with the decline of human energy and culture is that they were put together initially by force, not by consent, "and that they have never recovered from the wounds they received at birth."

He sees in the work of many of those serving their countries in the United Nations the emergence of an "elite" that has risen above the bonds of nationalism, augmented by their sympathetic supporters in other than the diplomatic and bureaucratic fields, an elite "skilled in the ways of co-operation among varied peoples . . . not entirely divorced from national allegiance, but on the whole devoted to the task of getting in practice beyond the sovereign nation-state." It is unfair to the author to attempt a summary of his work in a few hundred words. His plea for patient hope is worth heeding.

Blodwen Davies.

ECONOMIC SECURITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM—Can We Have Both?: Albert Lauterbach; Cornell University Press; pp. 178; \$3.25.

THE INDUSTRIAL FUTURE OF GREAT BRITAIN: Lectures arranged by University of London and Institute of Bankers; Europa Publications Ltd.; pp. 208; \$4.00.

Albert Lauterbach believes not only that we can have both economic security and individual freedom, but that without economic security we cannot long hold our freedom. Depressions, which go with unplanned economies, breed disillusionment, frustration, and oppression. The author of *Economic Security and Individual Freedom* pleads interestingly and persuasively for "an effective control of organized society on the economic development." He believes that as long as the government is subject to constant criticism and periodic free elections there is nothing sinister in widespread social control of our economic life. Lauterbach's book dispels a good many popular prejudices concerning both "free" enterprise and economic planning and can be recommended as an antidote to orthodoxy in political and economic thinking, written for popular consumption.

The Industrial Future of Great Britain is a series of lectures, which were given from November, 1947, to March of this year in London. As such, it suffers from all the ills of lectures in print. It is unavoidably repetitious; it is often dull, and the lecturer's witticisms are often unfunny on paper. The economic situation in Britain today is seen through the eyes of leaders in business and finance, and there is much here of interest. On the whole, however, the book impressed this reviewer as negative and rather uninspiring. It is the voice of the City crying out against Britain's socialist experimenters, but no comprehensive set of alternatives to the government's present policies is put forward.

J. L. H.

THE SCARLET TREE: Osbert Sitwell; The Reprint Society of Canada; pp. 334.

This is the second volume of Sir Osbert Sitwell's five book autobiography and like the first and the third volumes is a veritable feast of wit, poetry and social satire. For this country that has always been deficient in the traditions and eccentricities that can clothe life as they do in *The Scarlet Tree* with a rich envelope of brocade, *The Scarlet Tree* provides a brilliant interpretation of a brilliant, perhaps over-ripe period in English social life, the Edwardian period. Even the clouds of the period as Sir Osbert describes them seem to belong to special Edwardian species of cloud.

Not only does *The Scarlet Tree* define a period, it also sensitively describes the childhood of Sir Osbert and does so with most interesting gleams thrown on the development of an artist; why, for instance, some people go through life with leisure but never have the inclination to raise a brush, a pencil, or a pen in an effort to catch the fleeting "splendors and miseries" of their era and others have and do is a question to which Sir Osbert applies a most interesting

theory. In *The Scarlet Tree*, there are a range of interesting character-studies: a little boy miserable at Eton, a father who in his youth invented a toothbrush that could play "Annie Laurie" and "a small pistol for wasps," a wonderful butler . . . Henry Moat, an old governess, and some cousins, Frederica and Flora. All of these people it is a pleasure to meet.

There are far more semicolons in *The Scarlet Tree* than is usual in autobiography and this is so, I think, because the author has been trained as a novelist. Most autobiographers are too fluid to use anything but lots of dashes, too selfish to let their readers see anyone but themselves, but Sir Osbert generously provides us with all of his surroundings, all the scents and personages, the tune of the times in which he was young.

James Reaney.

SO THIN IS THE VEIL: Delmar E. Bordeaux; Bellevue Books; pp. 192; \$3.00.

Thomas Jefferson's solution for the negro problem, looming slightly larger than a man's hand in his day, was to send them back to their African homes. But nobody got round to doing it. Harriet Beecher Stowe addressed it from the serene surety of Victorian religious faith, and thus inspired the American people. You freed the slaves and that expiated the crime of bringing them here in chains, and also solved the problem. But nature's inexorable law doesn't work that way. The fire still burns angrily.

Delmar Bordeaux writes with no inspirational faith, though this, his first book, is hopefully dedicated "to the budding spirit of racial tolerance in this polyethnic, poly-chotomous nation." Like so many modern writers he prefers to get down into the snake-pit with his characters, and so tells a horrible tale, passionately written. Very briefly, the heroine, a Mississippi white woman, discovers, after the murder of a local negro, that the negro's wife was her husband's mistress. Intuitively she suspects him of the murder, for which two innocent negro boys are hanged. Being pregnant, she loses her child, and in a half-mad effort at expiation makes love to their negro servant. Her husband shoots the negro and she shoots her husband; thereafter going really mad. A truly Shakespearean shambles on a less exalted stage.

Eleanor McNaught

READING IN BRITISH GOVERNMENT: Elizabeth Wallace (Editor); University of Toronto Press—Saunders; pp. 443; \$5.25.

This volume brings together a number of important essays on British Government which are currently out of print and two or three selections from Hansard. The editor has divided the book into sections—the Party system, the House of Commons, the Cabinet, etc. and has provided an excellent introduction which comments on the significance of the material included. The names of some of the authors will suggest the quality of thought and writing—Pollock, Jennings, Beveridge, Robson. This reviewer found William Clarke on "the Decline of English Liberalism," Jennings on the "Technique of Opposition" and Wheare on "The Machinery of Government" particularly stimulating. Indeed the book contains discussions of all the major problems of parliamentary government today. Although intended primarily for students this volume should be of interest to all concerned with democratic government in the "positive state."

D.H.G.

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Bond: (bɒnd) n. A documentary promise to repay borrowed money with interest; usually issued by public companies or governments; such as a Canada Savings Bond available in denominations of \$1000, \$500, \$100, \$50 with a limit of \$1000 of the current series in any one name; yielding 2¼% interest with the unusual feature of redemption at full face value at any time; may be purchased through banks, investment dealers, or through the Payroll Savings Plan. A most desirable security.



